

Military 'tour de force' predicted as Gorbachev makes last effort for peace in Moscow talks

Allies ready for all-out land war this week

FROM PETER STOTHARD AND SUSAN ELLICOTT IN WASHINGTON AND MARY DEJEVSKY IN MOSCOW

AN ALLIED ground attack to free Kuwait will almost certainly begin this week, accompanied by an air and sea assault of unprecedented ferocity. One senior Pentagon official predicted that a military *tour de force* was on the way.

The French foreign minister said yesterday that a date had been set for the attack, and although some American officials denied that, others agreed that a full-scale assault was imminent.

President Bush and his advisers have few expectations of today's mission to Moscow by the Iraqi foreign minister, Tariq Aziz, which is widely regarded as offering the last hope of averting a land war. James Baker, the American Secretary of State, said there would be no deviation from the war plan to accommodate the Moscow talks.

Mr Aziz, who travelled via Tehran because the allied command would not guarantee his safe passage through Iraqi air space, is expected to

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clarify the terms of the ceasefire proposals put forward by Baghdad last Friday. He is also believed to be carrying a personal message for President Gorbachev from President Saddam Hussein.

Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, said that the flurry of diplomatic activity in the Soviet Union and Iran was the result of the fixing of a date for a land war. "We are on the eve of the ground battle," he said.

The American military spokesman in Riyadh denied Mr Dumas's claim, but Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, did not echo the denial. General Scowcroft said it would be irresponsible "to talk about specifics", but if Saddam was thinking of withdrawing from Kuwait, "he had better act fast". It would be unwise for the Iraqi leader to delay long enough to take his military equipment with him.

According to well-informed administration sources, Mr Bush has become increasingly determined that the war should not end without the demise of Saddam. "It has become a personality thing," one aide said yesterday, reporting the president's irritation with Saddam's stubbornness and "lying propaganda". Mr Baker said that organising post-war Middle Eastern security would be much tougher if Saddam survived. He called the Iraqi leader's removal "our preferred option".

Mr Bush now has a free hand to launch the ground war whenever he chooses since the allied commander, General

Norman Schwarzkopf, is said no longer to be asking for more time to complete preparations. But in Washington, the debate continues on the nature of the assault. The defence secretary, Richard Cheney, and senior Pentagon civilians favour a phased beginning, with small-scale feinting actions to draw enemy troops from their entrenched positions. Senior army commanders prefer only the minimum of skirmishing before a massive co-ordinated land, sea and air attack.

The discussions were continuing as allied and Iraqi forces were involved in seven separate skirmishes on the Kuwaiti border. Two Americans were killed by "friendly fire" in the encounters when an Apache helicopter attacked a Bradley fighting vehicle and a tank. Six were wounded.

The engagements also saw American helicopters taking prisoners of war for the first time. The Iraqis lost three tanks, two armoured personnel carriers, a rocket launcher, two bunkers and an ammunition store in the clashes, an American spokesman said.

In Paris, the Iraqi ambassador, Abdul Razah al-Hashimi, said that if a land war started the allied forces would meet "so many surprises" and American blood would flow.

Mr Gorbachev is expected to tell Mr Aziz today, however, that Iraq must pull out of Kuwait if there is to be peace. The meeting, arranged during Yevgeni Primakov's mission to Baghdad last week, is the culmination of a hectic week of diplomacy in Moscow, where Mr Gorbachev has received the foreign ministers of Kuwait, Iran, France, Italy, Luxembourg and The Netherlands.

Mr Primakov has confirmed that he has drafted a comprehensive plan for peace in the Gulf, but has declined to give details other than to say that its first principle was Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. It is not clear whether his plan was co-ordinated with Iran, whose own proposals were rejected by Iraq a week ago, or whether Moscow has been acting independently.

Soviet officials spoke favourably of the Iranian plan last week and expressed the hope that it could be revived. Continued on page 20, col 5



Softening up: for the third night in a row US troops fire rockets into Iraqi positions. Each rocket contains 644 bomblets that explode like grenades

RAF bomb went astray

By MICHAEL BINYON
DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

BRITAIN is undertaking a full investigation into how an errant bomb hit the populated Iraqi town of Fallujah in a raid last week. But the Royal Air Force said in a preliminary statement that it had no evidence of casualties.

It was claimed that 130 people were killed and 78 wounded when a bomb landed in the town market place and hit a block of flats. It also said a Tornado was shot down during the raid.

Group Captain Niall Irving, the British military spokesman in Riyadh, said yesterday that one bomb veered away from its target during a raid on a river bridge over the Euphrates because of a failure in its laser guidance. It apparently landed in the town.

A video film from the Buccaneer aircraft designating the target with laser equipment showed a direct hit on the bridge, but also showed a pall of smoke from a populated area near the river bank. It was hard to see what the bomb hit because of the poor film quality.

The video showed the pilot aimed for the centre of the bridge, rather than at either end as usual in such attacks, to avoid civilian casualties. He released four bombs. One hit, two fell short and one fell about 800 yards to the right. "If there were civilian casualties, we very much regret that," Group Captain Irving said.

The investigation will look at how the guidance system failed. The fault appeared to be in the steering vanes. There has been no such incident in the past. Tornados using Faveway guided laser bombs have achieved success rates of between 75 and 99 per cent.

A Ministry of Defence spokesman said the raid took place on Wednesday, a day before the Iraqis claim. All planes returned to base and none were missing.

The question of civilian casualties is acutely sensitive following the American attack on an air raid shelter in Baghdad and the subsequent US review of targeting policy.

Polls raise expectations of an early election

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

A FURTHER advance for the government in weekend opinion polls has sharpened expectations in Tory ranks that the government may opt for an early election.

One minister said yesterday: "There is a clatter of desks being cleared all over Whitehall", and government strategists believe that increasing internal reactions in the Labour party over the Gulf war can give more of a shake to an early election.

There is concern, however, that Norman Lamont, the chancellor, may not be moving boldly enough in bringing down interest rates to give the prime minister the option of calling a contest in May.

An NMR poll for the *Independent* on Sunday gave the Tories a 7 point lead over Labour (47.0 per cent) and Harris in the *Observer* put the government 4 points ahead

(46.42 per cent), indicating that a "Gulf effect" is widening the gap between the two major parties. Labour has now led in only three of the 17 major national opinion polls conducted since John Major became prime minister and, after narrowing at the turn of the year, the gap now seems to be widening again in the government's favour.

Sensing the growing tempo of early election talk in government ranks, Labour has stepped up its attack on the Conservatives' handling of the economy, seeking to label Mr Major as a "do nothing" prime minister and preparing to accuse him of "cutting and running" before the full effect of the recession bites.

The party will stage Commons debates this week on the manufacturing industry and the poll tax, which are both, it believes, government weak spots on which an election campaign could focus.

Ministers now concede that, if there is to be an early election, it would almost certainly have to be on May 3, the day of local government elections. They fear that the poll tax will otherwise ensure a poor showing for the Tories in the council elections, diminishing their prospects for a June general election.

They agree, too, that the government will have to induce a greater degree of optimism about the economy to win an election. However, a number of Tory MPs, including ministers, doubt if that



Major: Labour trying to label him "do nothing"

Credit cards may carry holder's photograph

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

THE government is considering urging Britain's banks and building societies to insist that every credit and cheque card carries the holder's photograph.

Cheque card frauds rose by a quarter last year to more than £30 million. Credit card frauds are responsible for losses of a further £75 million a year to banks and finance houses, and senior Metropolitan police officers are concerned that there are links with money-laundering operations handling the profits of organised crime in drugs and pornography.

The Home Office set up a working party led by Alan Cummings, a director of the Woolwich Building Society, to examine the problems of card fraud after the case of Rodney Whitchelo, a former detective who was jailed for trying to

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Children drown in icy lake

By PETER VICTOR

TWO children were drowned yesterday after they fell through ice on a boating lake in west London. Other children managed to scramble to safety, but despite frantic rescue efforts, Julie Moles, aged 13 and her brother Stephen, aged five, could not be reached. The bodies were recovered later. PC Graham Platt who ran on to the ice in an attempt to save the children, also crashed through. He struggled for several minutes before he was able to get out.

Stuart Lait, who lives near the pond in Gunnersbury Park, said: "We could see the children's heads just above the water in the pond. Three people tried to get to them by crawling along the ice and reaching them with sticks. But the children couldn't get a grip on the wood."

In Gloucester two rescue operations were mounted as climbers got into difficulties. One climber was flown to Belford hospital in Fort William after a fall.

Full details and photograph, page 4

INSIDE

New move on sanctions

Commonwealth nations are to resume sporting links with South Africa on a case by case basis as soon as they think racial discrimination has ended in that sport.

The go-ahead was given by the foreign ministers of nine Commonwealth countries who met in London at the weekend. Page 20

ANC suspicion, page 13

Leading article, page 13

History plea



Pressure is mounting on Kenneth Clarke, above, the education secretary, to rethink his blueprint for the national curriculum in history. Head teachers have joined critics from left and right of the political spectrum. Page 5

Poll tax hope

Government hopes that tough capping rules would keep average poll tax bills below £400 this year as being fulfilled as councils cut their budgets to stay within spending limits. Page 7

Bomb kills 21

Twenty-one people were killed and many more injured, after a car bomb exploded among crowds leaving a bullfight in the Colombian drug capital, Medellin. Page 8

New opera

Paul Griffiths, *The Times* music critic, has written the libretto for a new opera - with music composed by Mozart. It reveals how this collaboration was achieved. Page 17

Liverpool draw

Liverpool and Everton drew 0-0 at Anfield in the FA Cup. The eventual winners will be away to West Ham United in the quarter-final. Page 34

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Bruges group says Bonn lied over Gulf

By SHEILA GUNN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Bruges Group will this week accuse the German government of lying to avoid committing troops to the allied forces in the Gulf war.

The pressure group, of which Margaret Thatcher is honorary president, will publish on Wednesday a vitriolic attack on the German government's policy of "appeasement" towards Saddam Hussein. The group's basic constitution rules out the deployment of German troops outside the Nato area.

The Bruges Group, which is

campaigning against a federal European Community, will argue that the constitutional barrier is "a big lie" agreed between the political parties to appease Germany's pacifist, anti-American elements. The group's aim is to provoke debate between British and German politicians about Germany's motives for refusing to send troops to the Gulf.

The group's report, *Cheep Excuses*, by Alan Sked, the historian, accuses the Germans of promoting their own self-interests and compares Saddam Hussein to Hitler.

Cheese gift fails to lift spirits of French pilots

FROM JOHN PHILLIPS
IN PARIS



Rocard: told of poor morale in the Gulf

GIFTS from well-wishers of 12,000 Roquefort cheeses and hundreds of boxes of Montelimar nougat have apparently failed to bolster the sagging morale of French servicemen in the Gulf, many of whom despair that they are "useless".

French pilots in Saudi Arabia have told *Le Monde* newspaper they felt isolated at their desert base at al-Ahsa and want to operate together with British and American fliers at the much bigger Dhahran base further north. "For every one of our sorties, the US Air Force carries out 60," a captain told *Le Monde*. "Compared to them, we feel useless. If we were not here nobody would notice."

The pilots said they believe they had been sent to their remote outpost by Jean-Pierre Chevènement, who resigned as defence minister last month because

he opposed the war, to keep them away from the other allied forces. The pilots were speaking freely for the first time since the war started to reporters who accompanied Michel Rocard, the prime minister, on a visit to their base last week.

M Rocard knows that his fliers' rock-bottom spirits are not for want of public support at home. Well-wishers include the director of a Roquefort factory in the Cantal who sent them 12,000 of his finest cheeses, according to yesterday's *Le Journal du Dimanche* newspaper. Another public-spirited businessman sent an enormous quantity of nougat from Montelimar to give France's Gulf contingent something to chew on during their long days in the desert, the newspaper said.

French women are also reportedly taking up their first world war role as

marraines, or godmothers, who traditionally adopted frontline soldiers they had never met, serving as pen pals and sending them provisions.

Le Monde said the commander of the French pilots, Colonel Marc Amberg, hinted at dissatisfaction among his men when he talked with M Rocard. But the socialist prime minister did not comment.

The pilots lamented the quality of their aircraft. Their Jaguar fighter bombers are outdated and are unable to fly night missions. *Le Monde* quoted the pilots as saying that their participation in the war was so minimal that they felt they deserved no praise.

France's 60 Jaguars and Mirages in the Gulf have carried out daily missions since the start of the war without losing any aircraft. But their pilots believe they are not getting enough fighting.

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THE
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PRESENT:
THE DEATH OF
THE
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UNITED NATIONS

Baghdad envoy hedges on withdrawal but keeps initiative alive

FROM JAMES BONE IN NEW YORK

IRAQ's ambassador to the United Nations said at the weekend that the peace initiative by his country's Revolutionary Command Council did not impose conditions on a possible Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Dr Abdul Amir al-Anbary told reporters: "What matters really is the political will. Otherwise we will be the captive of semantics. Linkage, conditions, pre-conditions. No. We are not putting any conditions. We have repeatedly stated we are ready for a genuine bona fide dialogue without any condition."

In a closed session of the council, Dr al-Anbary reiterated Iraq's willingness to "deal on the basis of Resolution 660", which calls for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait, but did not discuss any conditions, diplomats said. He again called for negotiations but did not repeat to the council his public statement that his government was not imposing any conditions.

He also told the council that Iraq reserved the right to use chemical weapons in response to high-altitude bombing, which he called a form of mass destruction, diplomats said.

One Western diplomat at the private meeting said that when pressed on the question of withdrawal, "he flannelled". Another noted that he stuck very close to the language on Resolution 660 used in the Iraqi communiqué issued on Baghdad radio on Friday. Dr al-Anbary's comments to the press indicate, however,



Dr al-Anbary: Ready for "a genuine dialogue"

that Iraq may be seeking face-saving negotiations on a number of issues to permit a withdrawal from Kuwait.

An experienced diplomat who speaks good English, Dr al-Anbary would have known that his remarks would be reported in Baghdad. After Friday's Iraqi statement, he cancelled a press conference and the fact that he spoke to the press on Saturday suggests he had received some fresh instructions from his government.

The statement on Baghdad radio expressed "Iraq's readiness to deal with security council resolution 660 with the aim of reaching an honourable political solution, including withdrawal". But it linked that readiness to a

series of other items, ranging from a ceasefire and the repeal of the other 11 UN resolutions against Iraq to an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the payment of war damages by the anti-Iraq coalition.

Dr al-Anbary told reporters: "We shouldn't use the word 'conditions'. We shouldn't use the word 'linkage'. Sometimes we become captives of our own misunderstanding, our own misconception. Here you have all legitimate issues," he said. "Let us call them issues and let's address ourselves to these issues."

The Iraqi ambassador said some of those issues could be resolved immediately while others might take months. He stressed that Resolution 660 called not only for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait but also immediate intensive negotiations between Iraq and Kuwait to resolve their differences.

"Over the past few weeks we have heard so many complaints that Iraq simply wouldn't utter the word 'withdrawal' or utter the word 'Kuwait'," Dr al-Anbary said. "Now when Iraq came with this important proposal, namely to implement Resolution 660, they said our list is just a piece of propaganda," he added. "It shows that there are so many people in very high positions that can reject initiatives for peace even without comprehending or understanding."

"It also shows that they are not interested in Resolution 660, because that resolution doesn't provide only for immediate withdrawal. It also provides for immediate negotiations."

Asked whether Iraq would negotiate with Kuwait, Dr al-Anbary said: "We are ready to negotiate and sit down with any party who is really active in the current conflict."

The security council is due to meet again tomorrow to hear a report by the Soviet ambassador, Yuli Vorontsov, on the visit of Iraq's foreign minister, Tariq Aziz, to Moscow.

● **BRUSSELS:** Three European Community foreign ministers returned from Moscow yesterday but said they could only hope that Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi foreign minister, was bringing some constructive proposals to the Soviet leaders (George Brock writes).

The Luxembourg, Dutch and Italian ministers left before Mr Aziz was due in Moscow. Jacques Poos, the Luxembourg foreign minister and leader of the EC trio, admitted that the hope of finding any common basis for negotiation was "very slim".

Leading article, page 13



Soldiering on: Soviet demonstrators braving winter weather at a pro-army rally called by army veterans in Yarovsk, north of Moscow. The gathering came as the Kremlin awaited the arrival of Tariq Aziz, Iraq's foreign minister.

MOSCOW

Discord in ministry hindering Soviet policy on the conflict

FROM MARY DEJEVSKY IN MOSCOW

THE impression that Soviet Gulf policy was hampered by divisions within the Soviet foreign ministry and between the foreign ministry and President Gorbachev's office was confirmed at the weekend in an "insider" account of how Soviet policy came about. The account, published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, also cast doubt on the commitment of Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, the new Soviet foreign minister, to the policy initiated by his predecessor, Eduard Shevardnadze.

The author of the article based his findings on interviews with an unidentified Soviet diplomat present at the Shevardnadze-Baker talks in Yerevan last July and an academic specialising in the Arab world. He said that the divisions began with Mr Shevardnadze's decision to issue a joint statement condemning Iraqi aggression on August 3.

The diplomat was quoted as

saying that sections of the foreign ministry maintained that the document had been "written in blood" — the blood of nearly 9,000 Soviet citizens, then in Iraq, who risked being killed or taken hostage. But Mr Shevardnadze had insisted on it, arguing that the Soviet Union's "new political thinking" was meaningless unless it stood the test of such a crisis.

The controversial nature of the joint statement explains the priority given by foreign ministry officials subsequently to ensuring the safe evacuation of all Soviet citizens from Iraq. The almost daily evacuation figures were, in retrospect, an attempt by the Shevardnadze group to defend the joint statement.

The next point of conflict was Mr Shevardnadze's speech at the United Nations General Assembly on September 26, where he again condemned Iraq, but left doubts about whether Moscow would

dispatch troops to join an allied force in the event of war. Although Mr Shevardnadze specifically and repeatedly denied that Soviet troops would be sent to the Gulf, the doubts — according to *Komsomolskaya Pravda* —

stemmed from Mr Shevardnadze's proposal to revive the UN's general staff committee. Soviet military and diplomatic circles realised that, under the terms of the UN charter, security council members would be obliged to contribute troops to any UN contingent. Opposition to the deployment of Soviet troops, in any capacity, was fierce — because of the Afghanistan legacy and misgivings in Moscow about its anti-Iraq stance.

The academic told *Komsomolskaya Pravda* that Mr Shevardnadze had caused resentment by never soliciting the opinions of Middle East specialists. The pro-Western lobby in the foreign ministry, he said, had become convinced through the autumn that war was inevitable, whereas the Arabists believed that it could be prevented.

One of the paper's more disturbing revelations concerned the position of Mr Bessmertnykh. Although he was presented as the heir to Mr Shevardnadze, the paper implies that this was deceptive. "While still ambassador to the United States," it said, "Bessmertnykh disagreed with Shevardnadze's line on the Gulf and criticised the foreign ministry's actions in the Middle East." This conclusion does not bode well for a superpower agreement to a Moscow-sponsored peace plan.



Shevardnadze: did not consult Middle East specialists

JERUSALEM

Settlements dispute strains US links

BY RICHARD OWEN

THE dispute between America and Israel about economic aid and West Bank settlements worsened at the weekend, threatening to undermine their new-found cordiality over the Gulf war. It also sparked public discord between Yitzhak Shamir, the prime minister, and David Levy, the foreign minister.

Diplomats said differences with America over the future of the occupied territories had been overshadowed by the war, but would clearly resurface to complicate postwar peace talks.

The argument began at the end of last week when Zalmay Shoval, the Israeli ambassador to Washington, complained that the Bush administration was "giving Israel the runaround" over \$200 million of long-promised housing loans intended to build flats for Jewish immigrants. America has demanded guarantees that the money will not be used for housing beyond the green line in

occupied land, and Mr Shoval criticised Washington for rejecting Israeli guarantees as inadequate. He also "demanded" that America defray the "immense military costs" incurred by Israel during the Gulf war so far, as well as compensate Israel for indirect losses such as tourist revenues.

Washington said Mr Shoval's remarks were "beyond the bounds of behaviour by the ambassador of any friendly country" and Israeli opposition MPs yesterday demanded Mr Shoval's recall. But Mr Shamir's spokesman said a "sense of proportion" had to be maintained.

Officials said Mr Levy, who is in charge of Israel's diplomatic corps, would fly to Washington to "repair the damage". His office angrily accused Mr Shamir of having instructed Mr Shoval to make his outspoken remarks. Relations between Mr Levy and Mr Shamir were already at a low point.

MUSLIM WORLD

Peace proposals attract support

BY MICHAEL BINYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

MOROCCO and Iran called on the West to re-examine Iraq's proposals for a withdrawal from Kuwait and condemned the allied dismissal of the offer as hasty.

Debate was also growing as to whether President Saddam Hussein had set preconditions for an Iraqi pullout or was merely stating concomitant measures that must be undertaken by the West.

Some analysts in the West and the Arab world have suggested, that the Iraqi offer is compatible with the United Nations resolution as it does not set preconditions. They point out that the key sentence is: "The first step that is required to be implemented as a pledge by Iraq regarding withdrawal will be linked to the following". The word "linked", which is used by Iraq in its own, official translation of the broadcast, could be interpreted to mean that other measures will follow from a withdrawal, not that they must precede it. In Arabic the word *murababah* means "tied to" or very closely linked.

King Hassan of Morocco told a cabinet meeting on Saturday that the Iraqi offer was a "positive step along the path to a just peace in the region". He said that any durable settlement must be based on the preservation of the Iraqi people's dignity, not their humiliation, and respect for their territorial integrity.

Morocco, where popular support for Saddam is high, is the first member of the allied coalition to give public support to the Iraqi offer. Iran, which has proclaimed its neutrality, said yesterday that it signalled the beginning of a settlement to the region's problems.

President Rafsanjani said in a radio broadcast that there were signs that avenues had been opened for a settlement, and Muslim countries must do their

best to keep open this window of opportunity. He called on the coalition to prove its good faith by considering the Iraqi proposals because everyone wanted the end of the occupation of Kuwait.

Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi foreign minister, had talks in Tehran with Ali Akbar Velayati, the Iranian foreign minister, before leaving for Moscow, where he was due to discuss peace proposals.

The Kuwaitis have scorned the Baghdad broadcast and Iraqi sincerity in involving the Russians in peace negotiations. Sheikh Sabah al-Sabah, the foreign minister, predicted in Cairo that the talks in Moscow would fail if there was no change in the attitude of the Iraqi leadership.

Leading article, page 13

WAR IN THE GULF: DAY 32

ALLIED FORCES

SORTIES: More than 78,000 missions flown since January 17; more than 2,000 overnight including 150 against Scud missile launchers.

CLAIMS: France's foreign minister, Roland Dumas, said that the date for an allied ground offensive was set and was imminent, but this was denied by US Brigadier-General Richard Neel. Military said a massive ground and sea offensive could take place this week if there is no surrender or diplomatic settlement within three days. Seven border clashes in last 24 hours. Iraqi losses included three tanks, two APCs and a multiple rocket launcher.

LOSSES: Two US soldiers killed and six wounded when mistakenly fired on by a US Apache helicopter. At least seven other US soldiers have been mistakenly killed by their own forces during the war. Defence department said 48 American soldiers had died in the Gulf in war-related deaths, 12 in action; 36 listed as non-combat deaths. 74 allied servicemen have

died, 63 captured or are missing, including 12 British, 12 POWs, two British, Allies lost 40 aircraft, 30 in combat, including seven British.

IRAQI FORCES

CLAIMS: Iraq claimed it fired three missiles at the site of Israel's nuclear reactor in the Negev desert. The defence ministry newspaper said: "The heroic armed forces will prove for the first time that the desert sands will be irrigated with American blood."

ALLIED WAR AIMS

Resolution 660 of the United Nations Security Council, passed on 2 August, condemns Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and calls for an unconditional withdrawal and negotiations. Resolution 678 authorises Iraq's allies to "use all necessary means" to uphold previous resolutions calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and its government's restoration. It also calls on the nations "to restore international peace and security in the area".

Allied bombardment probes for weak links in Iraqi line

THE next few days will dictate whether a ground battle will be fought. The allies are ready. All preparations necessary for a land offensive are underway. These include the targeting of Iraqi minefields with fuel-air explosives, the bombardment of the 15ft high sand berms and the continued precision bombing of bunkers and armour in the front lines across Southern Kuwait. The attack could come at any time.

If conditions among the opposing troops last week, as described by Iraqi deserters, are accurate, they will be even worse from now on. Soldiers suffering from low morale, hunger and lack of sleep face a frightening week ahead, knowing that unless their leader calls them home, they will have to defend themselves against an unprecedented allied assault by land, sea and air.

The Americans, British and other allied forces will first hit the weakest Iraqi positions. That will be the real test for the allies, and

for President Saddam Hussein. If the first wave gets bogged down, it could give Saddam a glimmer of hope that he can inflict enough casualties to win a significant political victory. If the Iraqi troops cave in immediately, he will need all his political cunning to survive.

Deserters' descriptions of life in the Iraqi trenches have played a crucial part in deciding the timetable for an allied ground campaign. They claim that as many as five or six soldiers in every front-line Kuwaiti bunker have been dying each night from the bombing raids, and that at least 20,000 have been killed over the whole battlefield.

Although some Pentagon officials believe the figure could be as high as 50,000, even the figure of 20,000 has to be treated sceptically. The average Iraqi infantryman has hardly moved from his bunker since the bombing began and his knowledge of the state of the Iraqi divisions would be localised. He would

The testimony of ragged and hungry deserters has played a crucial role in deciding the timetable for an allied ground offensive, Michael Evans writes

know there were comrades dead or wounded in the bunkers around him but would have little grasp of the extent of the death toll.

The typical deserter's story of one meagre meal of rice a day and no water for washing has become familiar. Compared with the allied forces, eating regular hot meals, and washing in basic but reliable shower units, the contrast has been remarkable.

Their information has encouraged American commanders to sound much more bullish in their damage assessment statements over the past few days. They are aware that deserters tend to give an exaggerated account of conditions and casualties, but the majority of the 1,000 Iraqi prisoners of war have maintained a persistent line.

They have also shown from the state of their uniforms, their unwashed, lice-infested appearance and their obvious hunger, that the stories of poor conditions must be true.

There was one notable exception. Ten Iraqi NCOs crossed the border dressed in clean uniforms and looking decidedly healthy. Assuming they were genuine deserters, and not part of President Saddam Hussein's decoy and deception strategy, their healthy condition would have reminded the British military in Saudi Arabia who fought in the Falklands conflict in 1982 of similar contradictions among some of the Argentine forces.

While the Argentine rank and file began running out of food in the latter part of the conflict, those in command received spe-

cial rations. Nevertheless, the intelligence supplied to allied debriefers by the deserters must be giving reassurance that attrition is occurring in the Iraqi trenches and that the bombing is driving at least some of Saddam's troops to get out before the ground war begins. The sight of dead comrades, lying unburied because the bombing prevented any venture into the open, will also be playing on the soldiers' minds as they try to sleep amid the bursts of shells and bombs around them.

The contrast between the Iraqi conditions and those of the allies was underlined last week with the photograph of a British officer examining the naked feet of a row of soldiers from the 4th Armoured Brigade. The officer said monitoring soldiers' hygiene before a battle was as important as cleaning a Challenger tank's gun barrel.

This lesson was learnt, at some cost, in the Falklands conflict, when poor army boots let in

water as the soldiers "yomped" across the peat bogs. Many suffered from trench foot as a result.

The lice in Iraqi deserters' hair indicated that they would not have washed for at least three weeks. Allied bombers have not targeted Iraq's water supplies. But they have hit power plants, which has had the same effect. Water supplies are clearly very limited.

While infantrymen can supply local tactical intelligence, none would be aware of what the higher echelons were doing. High grade intelligence would only come from the capture or desertion of a senior Iraqi commander.

Vital intelligence can also be gleaned from the capture of enemy equipment. It has been reported, without official confirmation, that a special forces team flew into Kuwait and captured a Soviet SAM missile which was said to have a special modification.

Peace songs drowned out by B52 chorus

London — Peace protesters at RAF Fairford had their songs and chants drowned out yesterday by four B52 bombers taking off to attack Iraq from their Gloucestershire base (David Young writes).

Bruce Kent, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament leader, and Tony Benn, the Labour MP, led more than 600 protesters to the base and handed in letters to the UN secretary-general and President Bush appealing for an immediate ceasefire and negotiations to end the war.

A force of 200 police and a defence ministry helicopter maintained tight security at the base, currently home to eight B52s and US military personnel. Mr Benn had just finished speaking when the four bombers took off at one-minute intervals.

Organisers of the march had said it was to be held in silence, but many began singing and chanting as they fled through the small village, where many homes carried posters supporting the troops in the Gulf.

In the know

Paris — Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, said yesterday that the allied land offensive against Iraq was imminent and that France has been informed of the start date, which he did not disclose. France has placed 10,000 troops in Saudi Arabia under American command, while some of their specialised units have come under French orders.

Democracy call

London — Kuwait's political opposition groups are planning to stage a conference in London this month to press for greater democracy in the emirate once the Iraqis have been driven out. They condemned the suggestion by the Kuwaiti minister of information that a period of martial law might be needed after liberation.

Danish donation

Copenhagen — Denmark is to give Britain \$9 million of humanitarian aid in response to a recent request for help in meeting the costs of the Gulf war effort. Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the Danish foreign minister, said the aid will include a 40-bed ambulance plane to fly British casualties to Europe, as well as cash earmarked for specific humanitarian purposes.

Polluted rain

Nicosia — Black rain has fallen over western Iran, according to the Iranian news agency. The rain, which polluted "environmental, water and agricultural resources" in Iranian border areas, was caused by smoke from burning oil installations in eastern Iraq. Iran has reported several incidences of black rain since the Gulf war began a month ago. (Reuters)

Poll tax refusal

The Gulf — A recommendation by the government that all soldiers, sailors and airmen do not pay poll tax while in the Gulf, has been rejected by Gosport, the council near Portsmouth, the Royal Navy's headquarters. Gosport council's Tory leader Peter Chewy has rejected a plea by HMS Cardiff's captain that his crew should not pay the tax.

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البيان

Border tension rises as troops prepare for ground war

INTENSIVE preparations for a massive allied land and sea assault on occupied Kuwait, which could come as early as this week, continued unabated yesterday throughout Saudi Arabia despite the speculation that a Soviet-sponsored Iraqi withdrawal from the emirate may yet render it unnecessary.

In an attempt to keep allied troop morale at fighting peak, the heavily censored US armed forces Radio Shield 170 broadcast a prominent report quoting unnamed military sources as claiming the attack would be launched as scheduled if there was no Iraqi surrender or a diplomatic deal by tomorrow.

British military sources involved in preparations for the ground assault, in which the Desert Rats will play a vital role, said that before Baghdad's controversial offer of a withdrawal, the most likely date for launching the land war was Wednesday, February 20.

An American source with close contacts to the American com-

mand in Riyadh said: "We still believe that Saddam will not pull out until he is literally looking down the barrel of an M60 tank. He should recognise that once this war machine has been put into action, it will be very hard to stop. If he is going to move out he must do it very quickly."

Brigadier-General Richard Neal, the official American military spokesman, denied suggestions here and from government sources in Paris that a date for the land war had been decided. But his remarks were seen as part of a campaign of disinformation regarding the exact timing of a ground assault that is now being mounted by the Pentagon.

"There is no date at this time," General Neal said last night. However, tension along the Saudi border with Kuwait and Iraq has been increasing. Yesterday there were seven different incidents involving exchanges of fire, most resulting from allied efforts to repulse Iraqi reconnaissance. In one military action, a group of 20 Iraqi soldiers was

In spite of Iraq's conditional offer to withdraw from Kuwait, allied forces are pressing ahead with plans for a land and sea assault, Christopher Walker writes

driven across the border into northern Saudi Arabia by low-flying Apache helicopters. There were no allied soldiers on the ground. The Iraqi prisoners of war, who were carrying documents whose importance was under investigation last night, gave themselves up to the helicopter crews in an incident described by General Neal as militarily unique.

The round-the-clock bombing of targets inside Kuwait and southern Iraq also continued unchanged, despite some bad weather. More than 2,600 allied sorties were flown in the 24-hour period which ended at sundown yesterday.

There was surprise at the sudden drying up of the steady stream of Iraqi soldiers deserting

across the line, with none at all reported for two days. Allied commanders believe the report of a planned Iraqi withdrawal had circulated in Kuwait and soldiers there did not want to risk their future and that of their families by deserting at this stage.

In the confusion about the immediate future of the war, some Americans remained confident that Moscow would succeed in securing an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal which would make further allied defensive action under the UN umbrella impossible. Colonel David Hackworth, one of America's top defence analysts and the most decorated living American officer, first predicted a Soviet-sponsored diplomatic solution as imminent last week, nearly 24

hours before the surprise Baghdad radio announcement. "I am more optimistic now than I was last Friday," he said last night.

The colonel, aged 60, who resigned over the army's Vietnam policy, said: "The Iraqi army is now like a man who has had his arms and legs cut off. The Americans can just put it inside a net and bounce it around like a ball. Without air cover, there is no way the Iraqis can go on."

Some European observers believe that the American military is anxious to press ahead with an assault whose aims would stretch beyond the liberation of Kuwait alone. It is no secret that American officers are opposed to an Iraqi withdrawal that would leave President Saddam Hussein in power with much of his armed forces intact. "That was called the nightmare option before this war began, and it is still a nightmare option," one Western military official said. "But if he goes ahead and pulls everything out it seems there is little we can do about it."

Despite the continuing talk of

an imminent land battle or G-day, as the assault has been dubbed, there have been signs that many allied servicemen and women are already convinced that a peaceful solution to the conflict is on the cards.

When news of Baghdad's offer first reached the desert camp of the US Second Marine Division, situated 30 miles from the Kuwaiti border, cheers of joy went up from the troops. One squad immediately organised a group photograph on the assumption that they would soon be leaving for home.

But even as the celebrations were taking place there — and at many other American forward positions sprawled out across the desert — the sound of bombs could be heard in the distance. Commanding officers took pains to tell their men that nothing had really changed, and that they could not afford to let down their guard.

The reaction of the American servicemen was coloured by deep scepticism about Saddam's real

intentions. Many soldiers raised the bitter memory of how Iraqi troops had mounted their assault on the Saudi town of Khafji with their turrets reversed in a deceptive ruse.

But in the foxholes there was also understanding of the Iraqi leader's wish to survive. "I am afraid to believe it. I am afraid to set myself up for the big downfall," said marine Captain Don Wogaman, aged 29. "But Saddam is a pragmatist who all along has been looking for a way out. He does not want to die. He wants to find another way to be the kingpin in the Arab world."

Among the British forces, the reaction was generally more phlegmatic, as typified by Group Captain Cliff Spink, a commander of RAF fighter and bomber squadrons based in eastern Saudi Arabia. "As far as we are concerned, it is business as usual," he said. "The time for us to take notice of what is said from Baghdad is when the tanks in Kuwait have turned round and headed back north."

SAUDI ARABIA

Commander puts blame on Saddam for civilian deaths

FROM LYN JENKINS WITH THE RAF IN THE GULF

RAF air crews need have no conscience about the bombing of a bunker that allegedly housed 500 civilians as it was a legitimate military target, Air Chief Marshal Sir Patrick Hine, overall commander of British forces in the Gulf, told them yesterday.

Civilians were bound to be killed because of President Saddam Hussein's tactics. The Iraqi leader was deliberately using residential areas to shield his military equipment, Sir Patrick said during a brief visit to the largest RAF detachment in the Gulf. Four Tornados from the base have been lost since bombing began.

The bunker was a military target and had been destroyed. "I think it is interesting that seven-and-a-half hours went by after the target was struck before the journalists in Baghdad and television cameras were taken there. We do not need to have any conscience about that, but if we had known it had 500 civilians inside I don't think the bunker would have been attacked."

"He is moving his aircraft away from his main operating bases to residential areas, he is putting aircraft in front of a Babylonian mosque; he is putting military fuel tankers into a cemetery, he is putting a brigade headquarters into and around a school, he is putting another headquarters with combat vehicles around a hos-

pital," Sir Patrick said. "What kind of guy are you dealing with who would expose his own civilian population to those sorts of risks? He does it because he knows very well we take civilian life seriously."

"We analyse every single mission and we have to find out what went wrong, if indeed something did go wrong and discover whether it was a malfunction of the 'TALD' [thermal imaging airborne laser designator] system, a malfunction of the bomb, or a breakdown in procedures. We have to do our own enquiry into that, draw the right lessons and hopefully apply them."

He added that a great deal of investigation was done before targets were chosen. "You can't walk away from all key military targets because of the risk of one or two bombs failing to guide properly. You have to make up your mind whether there is a critical target in relation to what you are trying to do, interdiction of the battlefield in Kuwait, attrition of the Iraqi forces. There are bound to be civilian casualties, all I can say is that it is uppermost in our minds to minimise those that we possibly can."

The Americans had some of the best intelligence gathering in the world, he said. "It is because of this that we can be quite sure that the bunker in Iraq was a military target, a legitimate military target, and was in use at the time."

He pointed out that while it was well known that Saddam had a big command and control unit beneath one hotel in Baghdad, it had not been attacked. "Why have we not attacked it? Because we are very responsible people."

Rear-Admiral Mike McConnell said at the Pentagon on Saturday that he had evidence that some damage to civilian areas in Iraq was self-inflicted for propaganda purposes. He said the Iraqis took the dome off a Baghdad mosque earlier this month and claimed it was the victim of allied bombing.

A military source in Riyadh said he had seen photographs of the mosque taken on February 4 and again on February 11. "Somebody took the dome off but it wasn't us... it was very surgically removed. I thoroughly discount that story that it was the result of allied bombing," he said.

Sir Patrick also said that earlier in the war he had thought the campaign could be won in the air, but as it went on, a ground war looked more likely. "There was a possibility that the shock effects and the sheer accuracy of allied air attacks would, in fact, force Saddam Hussein to seek a ceasefire. This has not happened." (This dispatch is subject to allied military reporting restrictions)

Letters, page 13

JORDAN

Raids dash Iraqi hopes of peace

FROM RICHARD BEESTON IN AMMAN

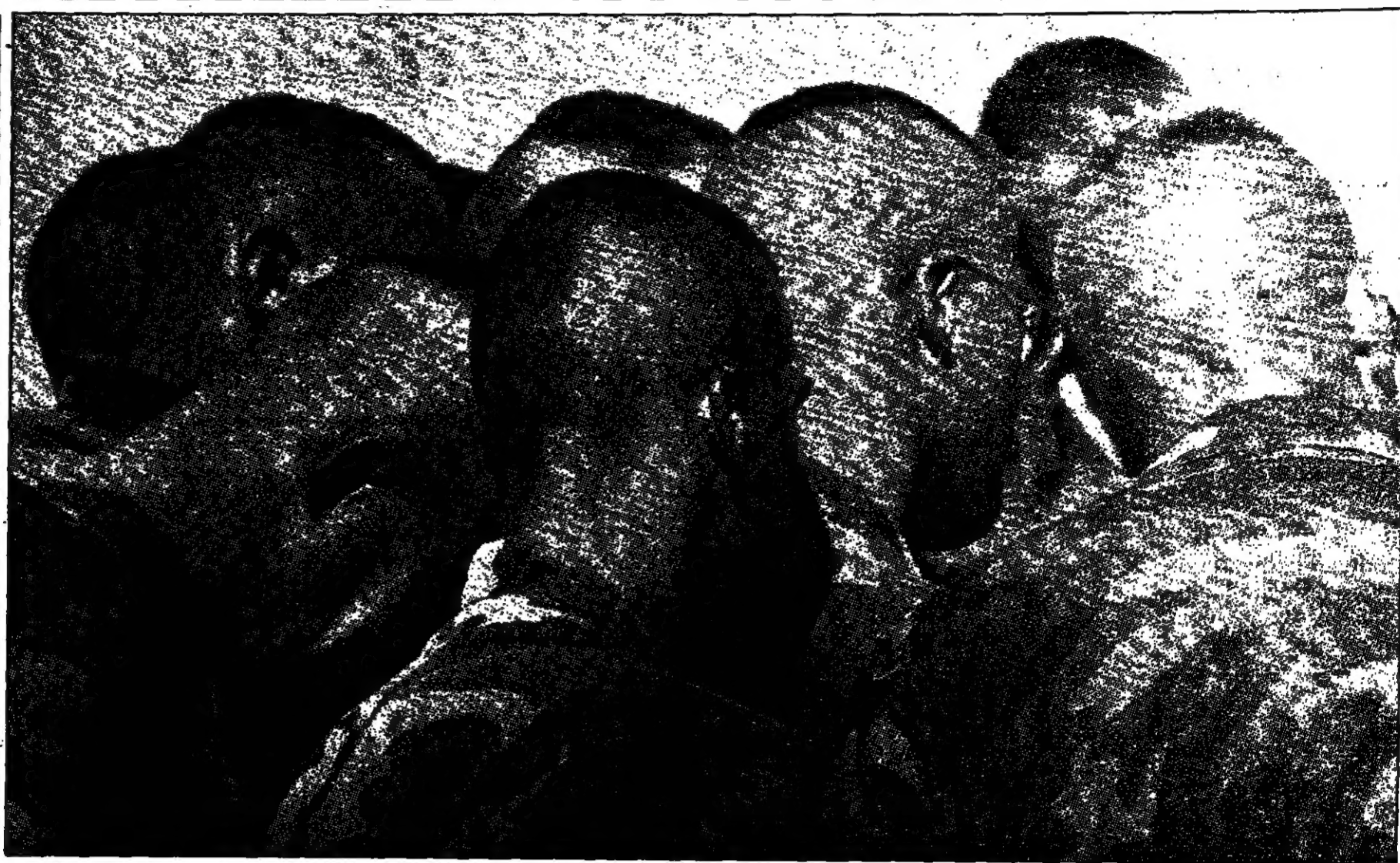
IRAQ sustained further widespread allied bombing strikes during the weekend, dampening hopes among Iraqis for a peaceful conclusion to the Gulf conflict.

Eyewitnesses in Iraq and refugees arriving in Jordan reported further raids in southern Iraq, the holy city of Najaf and along the Baghdad-Amman highway, as disillusionment spread among the Iraqi public, who had hoped that President Saddam Hussein's conditional offer to withdraw from Kuwait might bring the war to a speedy close.

"We were jumping for joy," Amal Hassan Abdullah, a refugee who arrived yesterday at the Jordanian border post of Ruwashed, said. "But our happiness was short-lived. It was shattered with the first bombardment shortly after the announcement and we were hit by a deep depression."

The remarks appeared to confirm initial Iraqi feelings of relief after Saddam's surprise announcement that he would respect United Nations Security Council resolution 660 calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Far from regarding the decision as a defeat, many Iraqis took to the streets to celebrate what they viewed as the end of the war.

"The American rejection of this chance could push the war in the direction where all doors to a political solution are closed," the ruling Baath party daily newspaper, *Al Thawra*, said yesterday. The report said, however, that if the allies pursued the war, Iraq "will turn the Arabian desert into a big graveyard for the allies and their military equipment."



Close encounter: American Marines listen in at a briefing on one of 31 assault ships "somewhere in the Gulf" as they prepare for an expected amphibious assault to free Kuwait. It is the largest task force of such craft since the Korean war battle of Inchon in September 1950.

Captain Mike Falley, commander of the landing ship, Portland, said: "We represent the cutting edge of the US Navy. We are the only means the president has to project sea power on to land. We can make a political difference." The force includes four helicopter and jet assault ships, the

two Jims, Tarawa, Nassau and Guam, carrying 30,000 sailors and marines and their support equipment, and has just completed its fifth exercise, perhaps its last before landing in Kuwait. Captain Falley said only he and two other officers on board had been in combat before but

the crew's mood was good. "Since the war began morale has actually gone up. People realise it is likely to be a short war so they want to get it over with and go home." (This report is subject to allied military reporting restrictions)

ISRAEL

Attack fuels fears for reactor

FROM RICHARD OWEN IN JERUSALEM

IRAQ launched its first missile attack on the Negev desert in southern Israel at the weekend, leading some Israeli newspapers to speculate that President Saddam Hussein might be trying to hit the nuclear reactor at Dimona as the war in the Gulf hovers between peace negotiations and an all-out ground offensive.

Baghdad radio said yesterday that Iraq had intended to hit Dimona, and claimed that three missiles had been fired.

General Nachman Shai, the Israeli army spokesman, would

not comment on whether either of the Scud missiles fired from western Iraq on Saturday evening had fallen near Dimona, which is in a sparsely populated region. All previous Iraqi attacks appear to have been aimed at urban centres such as Tel Aviv.

Neither missile fell in populated areas and there was no damage. One theory is that panic-stricken Iraqi missile operators, aware that they stand a good chance of being killed by allied air patrols, are wheeling mobile launchers out of hiding and firing almost at random in the hope of hitting something in Israel. Some Scuds fired recently have broken up in mid-air.

Defence experts suggest that Iraq is either having to patch together missiles and launchers from old stock or that the Iraqi forces are using the experimental al-Abbas missile. Although its range is 125 miles greater than the al-Hussein rocket used so far, it had undergone only rudimentary tests before the war.

Residents in the Negev desert described the explosion as "gigantic, mighty and powerful". It was audible from Jerusalem. "If Saddam is conceiving defeat while trying to gain political victory and save face, he will try to show the Arab world that he still has fight left in him," one diplomat said. "One way of doing that is to continue striking at Israel."

The *Jerusalem Post* said yesterday that Saddam was clearly "on the ropes because of the tremendous beating his military is taking". Israel's leading defence commentator, Zeev Schiff, said in the newspaper *Haaretz* that Saddam had to stop short of "total submission" because this would end in his downfall. He had to try to sue for peace, however, because the Iraqi army had been seriously eroded over the past week, at very low cost to the allies, and his command bunkers in Baghdad were being pinpointed and destroyed.

Israeli commentators said it was not clear to what extent Saddam remained in control. Some experts are predicting the disintegration of Iraq and disarray within the ruling Baath party. Others, however, fear some form of compromise will allow Iraq to rebuild its military machine and restore its nuclear capability.

Israel radio reported yesterday that American technicians have been in Israel for the past three days making improvements to the Patriot missile batteries deployed to intercept Scuds. In some cases, Patriots have hit incoming Scud missiles but have failed to destroy warheads, and injuries have been caused by debris falling to the ground in urban areas.

(This dispatch is subject to Israeli military restrictions)

Jewish humour takes sting out of Scuds

FROM AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE IN JERUSALEM

ISRAELIS are fighting the fears of Iraqi Scud missile attacks with a barrage of the best in traditional Jewish humour.

Seldom has a day passed since the first Scuds hit Tel Aviv on January 18 without a humorous riposte being voiced from the ranks of the civilian targets. What's the link between Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Baghdad? goes a favourite question. Nothing... yet, runs the answer. Dr Veld Reinfield, a psychologist, said

laughter was important in times of stress to cope with tension.

One thing every Tel Aviv citizen knows is how long it takes for a Scud missile to reach the city, where property is considered expensive. Did you know why the price of flats has soared in Baghdad? It's only five minutes from Tel Aviv.

Sigmund Freud claimed in 1905 that the masochistic phenomenon was part of an innate Jewish self-hatred. But Yair Garbutz, who writes for a satirical weekly, *Davar Aher* (Something Else), sees straightforward black humour as international, and tries instead to point the finger at Israel's political life. He recalled Yitzhak Shamir, the prime minister, saying missiles will fall here and missiles will fall there. A Tel Aviv schoolgirl wrote to him asking: why are they only falling here?

Another Scud favourite tells how the habits of Tel Aviv children have changed during the war. When they cross the road now, they look left, they look right and they look up.

Henry Spalding, in *Encyclopaedia of Jewish Humour*, suggests the Jews have an exceptional sense of humour. But he adds a self-mocking admission that the best way to ruin a good joke is to analyse it.

KUWAITI BORDER

Troops poised to act despite talks

FROM PHILIP JACOBSON, WITH THE 7TH ARMoured BRIGADE

THE rumour of peace reached us at brigade headquarters on a scorching afternoon of large-scale manoeuvres in a new and inhospitable stretch of desert. We had just finished a makeshift lunch of rations cooked on a field stove in a deep tank "scrape" carved out of the sand. The driver and escort of my vehicle began whooping and raced off to carry news of the broadcast from Baghdad. About 50 yards away, Brigadier Patrick Cordingley sat on his Challenger tank, apparently still unaware of what was happening.

When we caught up with him later, I asked what his first reaction had been to the possibility that a ground attack by British troops might not be required. "Elation at first, of course," he

itching to get at anybody, but four months in this dump is more than enough, believe me."

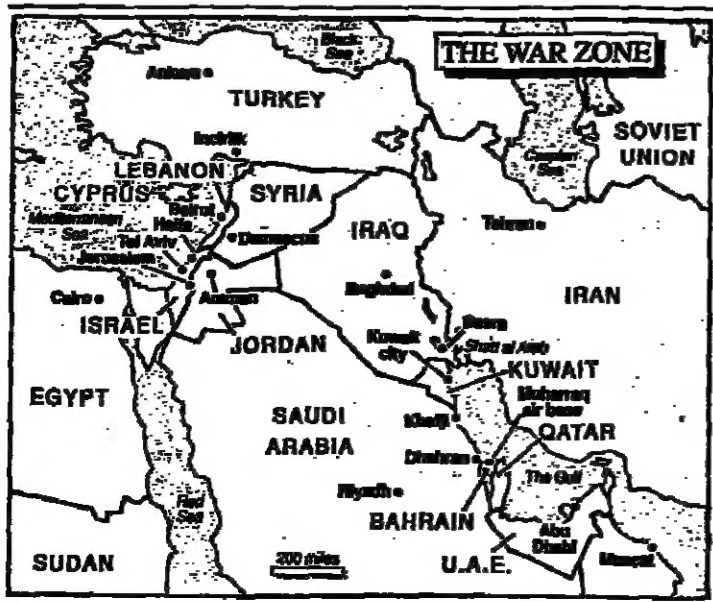
By the time we heard Washington and London pouring cold water on the Iraqi proposals, most of the men in our convoy were back in the mood of previous days as the prospect of ground fighting drew closer. The talk was of when, not if, the brigade will attack. The familiar sound of allied aircraft dropping overhead was merely a grim reminder that the bloody business of reducing Iraq's defences continued as usual.

Information is a precious commodity out here in the desert. As with most supplies from the Quarter Master's Stores in the rear, there is either too much or too little.

Intelligence arrives by satellite pictures, photographs from reconnaissance planes and from the questioning of prisoners. Now planes on combat missions take videos, and television cameras in missiles report their progress up to the moment of impact. Overwhelming as the flow of raw data may seem, it does not lead to a complete understanding of the enemy. Analysis of what is going on among Saddam's forces takes time to evaluate.

Information for public consumption reaches the armies in the desert via the BBC World Service and the American Forces' Wizard 106 radio station.

At breakfast next morning, where enough cholesterol is consumed to appal a dietician, Brigadier Cordingley was looking pensive as he chatted with his team of officers. His brigade is in superb condition, poised to fight after many weeks of relentless training. But when Brigadier Cordingley dropped into our tent later for a cup of coffee, he talked only of the need to keep fine-tuning until, and if, the day to fight arrived. Then he slipped on his battered brown beret and stalked away at the usual rate of knots, a man, as he said, "with rather a lot to think about." (This report is subject to allied military reporting restrictions)



Pressure on Clarke over 'hijacking' of history study

By JOHN O'LEARY, HIGHER EDUCATION CORRESPONDENT

PRESSURE is mounting on Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary, to rethink his plan for history in the national curriculum. Head teachers have joined critics from the left and the right.

The Centre for Policy Studies today claims that if Mr Clarke's order were effected, "traditional history would be outlawed". The Conservative think-tank calls for more emphasis on facts, rather than the acquisition of skills.

Labour has already promised a parliamentary challenge to Mr Clarke's decision not to allow the teaching of contemporary international history, and the Secondary Heads

Association (SHA) has called for the order to be withdrawn, claiming that many pupils will be left with no knowledge of 20th century history.

The history curriculum has been controversial from the outset, with academics and politicians debating the relative importance of facts as against historical skills. More time was allowed for production of the original proposals while the argument continued.

Although Mr Clarke's draft order seemed to represent a compromise acceptable to both sides, the Centre for Policy Studies remains highly critical. Sheila Lawlor, the deputy director of studies, says today: "The worst fault of the present proposals is precisely their attempt to regulate the entire teaching of history in schools. They are over-extended, yet lacking in those details which they should contain. They will damage the teaching and understanding of history for generations."

The centre's submission to Mr Clarke says that proposed targets for pupils are too vague and will leave many without the basic knowledge to apply the skills they are supposed to acquire. "We should not pretend that young children, often ignorant of even basic facts, should be doing at school what professional historians ... do at university - particularly given that it is not intended that they should have a modicum of knowledge," it says.

No historian, however traditional, believes that learning facts is sufficient, the centre says. The curriculum should restrict itself to minimum requirements and allow schools to add their own model of history teaching.

The Secondary Heads Association has also criticised the level of detail in the draft order. Michael Fugh, vice-president of the association, said: "It is right that the public should be aware of our professional frustration when curriculum change is hijacked by politicians. The kind of detailed prescription which is now being imposed will inhibit good teaching and will certainly not give pupils a sound basis for understanding the contemporary world."

The association said in its response to Mr Clarke that the decision to allow pupils to drop history at 14 would mean that many never studied any 20th century history.

University teachers of English will launch a campaign this week for a return to more traditional English syllabuses in schools. They are worried that pre-20th century literature is disappearing from some GCSE and A-level courses.

Education, pages 26 and 27



Mass event: a vividly-painted lion sweeps through Chinatown in central London yesterday as the local community celebrates the Chinese New Year. Colourful processions of lions and dragons marked the end of the Year of the Horse and the start of the Year of the Ram.

The celebrations have become a tourist attraction in recent years and many of those Chinese descent in the crowds brought along traditional dance masks or waved miniature dragons on sticks. The programme of celebrations also

included dragon dances, martial arts and Chinese songs and plays. During speeches there were warnings that rent rises in Chinatown could break up the traditional community by forcing its members to move away.

Smokers may be hit in Budget

By NICHOLAS WOOD AND THOMSON PRENTICE

SMOKERS seem likely to bear the brunt of excise duty increases in the Budget next month. William Waldegrave, the health secretary, is understood to be pressing for a sharp rise in the tax on cigarettes as a way of giving credibility to his moves to make disease prevention a centrepiece of the Conservatives' health policies.

Several weeks after the Budget on March 19, Mr Waldegrave will publish a green paper setting out national targets for reducing deaths from serious illnesses such as heart disease, cancer and strokes. He is aware that his blueprint will carry conviction only if the government is prepared to show its teeth. In another Budget move, the health secretary is understood to have ruled out any extension of tax relief for private health insurance.

Mr Waldegrave has already signalled his readiness to confront the tobacco lobby by proposing tough health warnings, including "smoking kills", be put on cigarette packets. He is also understood to be concerned about the amount of televised sport

sponsored by the tobacco industry. In November, the Health Education Authority accused the BBC of giving free television advertising to cigarette brands through its coverage of motor racing and snooker. The authority said the BBC's screening of one Grand Prix race gave the equivalent of 18 commercials of 15 seconds each to one brand.

The duty on a packet of 20 cigarettes was not increased in the 1989 Budget and last year it went up by 10p, in line with inflation. Kenneth Clarke, Mr Waldegrave's cigar-puffing predecessor at the health department, never displayed much zeal for reforming the nation's lifestyle.

The new health secretary, who has never smoked heavily and gave up some years ago, is going for a far more interventionist approach. He is particularly concerned about the gap in health standards between the most affluent and the poorest sections of the population, a lot of which can be explained by behavioural differences on diet and smoking. Mr Waldegrave believes a central part of his job is to persuade more people to give

up smoking. He accepts there is a direct link between the price of cigarettes and the prevalence of the habit.

The health secretary is believed to have lobbied Norman Lamont, the chancellor, for a substantial increase in the duty on cigarettes. He seems to be looking for a rise above the rate of inflation. Such a move would filter through into the retail prices index, and the chancellor will have to balance health gains against the impact of higher prices on the government's

fight against inflation.

Mr Waldegrave's plans for new, tougher cigarette warnings are part of his attempts to promote health education and preventive medicine, according to an article in this week's British Medical Journal. As well as "smoking kills", they include "smoking causes cancer", "smoking causes heart disease" and "smoking causes fatal diseases". The warnings have been welcomed by the British Medical Association and the Health Education Authority.

Four to stand trial over IRA killings in Netherlands

From MARK FULLER IN AMSTERDAM

FOUR suspected IRA members will stand trial in The Netherlands this week in connection with the murder last year of two Australians in the southern town of Roermond.

The trial, one of the biggest on the Continent involving IRA suspects, is the result of the first significant joint investigation by anti-terrorist squads in The Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, the UK and Ireland.

Donna Maguire, aged 25, Paul Hughes, aged 27, both from Newry, Co Down, Gerald Harter, aged 27, from Lurgan, and Sean Hick, aged 30 from Dublin, have been charged with murder and/or conspiracy to murder, and with belonging to an illegal organisation, the IRA.

Dutch police allege that the four are members of the active service unit that planned and carried out the killings of two Australian lawyers in May 1990. The IRA admitted responsibility, saying that the men had been mistaken for British servicemen.

The suspects were arrested in June after three of them - Maguire, Harter and Hick - were spotted by a farmer and his son in a Belgian wood, just over the Dutch border. They were apparently engaged in target practice. Maguire was arrested immediately and although Harter and Hick escaped back to The Netherlands, they were arrested later. The fourth suspect, Hughes, was arrested after trying to rescue Hick. Maguire was extradited to The Netherlands for the trial.

Harry Clabbers, a spokesman for the team of 90 Dutch detectives that spearheaded the investigation, said they had interviewed over 100 witnesses and had pieced together a "complex jigsaw puzzle" linking the four to the Roermond attack and to incidents in Germany.

Police say that ballistic reports on a Kalashnikov rifle and a pistol found in the suspects' car confirmed that the weapons were used at Roermond as well as in two attacks in Germany. Police allege that Harter was seen sitting in the Mazda get-away car immediately after the Roermond shooting and one or more of the accused were seen stealing the vehicle earlier the same day. Police have

also traced a red Opel Kadett, which they say was used as a second get-away car.

Police say that a fifth suspect, a 20-year-old Dutch woman student, is also involved but has not yet been charged. The student, believed to be Hick's girlfriend, rented a flat in The Hague which police say was the gang's base.

The trial opens on Wednesday and is expected to last until at least March 19. The Dutch authorities have already granted extradition orders to Germany for Hick and Hughes and are due to handle a request for Maguire shortly. Nevertheless, lawyers say the accused will first have to serve their sentences in The Netherlands if found guilty.

AGENDA

The week ahead

Today House of Lords debates sanctions on South Africa. Conservative county councils launch campaign against abolition. Environment department announces details of scheme to reduce poll tax. Government announces monthly public sector borrowing requirement and the January retail sales figures. The Association of British Insurers launches arson prevention bureau. Danny Morrison, Sinn Féin publicity director, and six others accused of conspiring to murder Alexander Lynch, an RUC informer, to appear at Belfast crown court.

Tuesday Government debates the impact of the poll tax and of government policies on manufacturing industry. CBI conference on water and effluent management. Auction of fine art and antiques belonging to Polly Peck, at Phillips, New Bond Street, London.

Wednesday Roermond of Wales visits Gulf crisis self-help support group in Glasgow.

Thursday Sebastian Coe opens International Swimming Pool and Fitness Exhibition, Alexandra Palace. RAC launches car emergency transmitter for women. Esther Rantzen presents Women of 90s Enterprise awards.

Friday Price to be announced for shares in National Power and PowerGen.

Paying the high price of arson

By STEWART TENDLER, CRIME CORRESPONDENT

THE one-and-a-half acre warehouse on a main road in northwest London had been demolished by the time the fire had run its course. The London Fire Brigade's investigation team had to wait two days until the wreckage was declared safe to enter.

Its suspicions were soon confirmed. The arsonist planned a final blaze in the warehouse offices and left the door to the warehouse open so that the fire would merge. But the first fireman on the scene kicked the door closed, killing the office fire and safeguarding crucial evidence. The arsonist was never caught and the fire, two years ago, cost £5 million.

The blaze is now another minor statistic in one of the fastest growing, least publicised and most expensive categories of crime in Britain. Today as the Home Office and insurance companies launch a national arson prevention bureau, arson is estimated to have cost the insurance industry £500 million last year out of a record fire loss of £1 billion.

The total 1990 loss has risen by 26 per cent on 1989 figures and the industry believes arson increased by the same amount. According to Roger Taylor, managing director of Sun Alliance and chairman of the bureau, up to 20 per cent of the 1990 loss is attributable to fraudulent arson where businesses, cars and homes are set on fire to collect insurance payments.

Home Office research shows, however, that the typical arsonist is male and aged ten to 25. The most common



Firemen struggle through the wreckage of a church

motivation is vandalism and the peak age for convictions is 14 to 16 years.

Almost a fifth of the 100,000 fires in all occupied buildings each year are deliberately caused. Among commercial, industrial and public property the figure is nearer a third. In 1988, the latest year for which Home Office figures are available, arson attacks damaged or destroyed 1,008 schools.

Out of 48,900 fires in vehicles in 1988 almost a third

are thought to have been started deliberately, and 40 per cent of 1,420 fires in recreational or cultural premises were believed to be arson. Annually, arson causes about 70 deaths and more than 1,000 injuries.

According to Douglas Woodward, the director of the new bureau, the statistics fail to provide a complete picture because they exclude fires with unknown causes and those put out by the public. "We don't know the real size

because the statistics are lamentable," he said.

Arson attacks began to increase in the middle 1960s, but Mr Woodward said: "It has taken a long time for people to take it seriously. There is a natural inclination on behalf of the authorities to play down arson. There is a feeling it is an insurance problem and will be paid for."

Attempts to take action have been handicapped by the belief that publicity encourages people to copy arsonists. Insurance companies keen to keep a good public image pay out in spite of claims. Mr Woodward said that there was also a "feeling of fatalism" about arson. "Everyone knows you can do something about fire but they say, 'What can you do about deliberate fires?' In fact you can do a lot."

Over the past decade there have been initiatives but they have not always succeeded. Fire brigades have been asked to appoint officers who will work full-time investigating suspicious fires. Only the London and West Midlands brigades have appointed specialist units, however. Other brigades rely on officers who have other responsibilities.

In 1988, the Standing Conference on Crime Prevention set up a working party to examine the prevention of arson. The bureau, funded with £150,000 a year by government and commerce, is one of 48 recommendations in the working party's report.

With senior police officers on its board, the bureau will try to improve standards of investigation and build up liaison between police and fire brigades.

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Scient

ANOTHER reason to the increasing popularity of energy conservation in buildings is the fact that some of the most dramatic energy savings are realized by the use of central energy plants. These are

The report says, "We follow the General Secretariat of Finance in its becoming a major player in financial development. Without a change in they say, 'the economic social damage will severe'."

People who have signed the include Sir Basil Frimman, one of the jet engine designers on the plane and author, John Fozz, a member of the Harrier jet and Professor Thomas, an eminent professor of optics at Cornell University. The 72 signatories are some of the very best scientists and engineers probably in Britain in the past 50 years and live in America.

The letter, organized by British Scientists Against Nuclear War, a pressure group, says the signatories are writing "on the basis of our scientific training and our experience as scientists, engineers and technologists and as citizens of a free society."

Birth

AMERICAN scientists developing contraceptives that could help women volunteers without new coitus. Two mental physicians, having been successful in tests on the American boys in the AdA movement, were told at the weekend conference in Washington.

John Hertz, of the University of California, said that his study had indicated that a found out in a sperm stimulated female cells to prevent conception. Hertz, 38, is being terminated in his hands, and he has been further trials in April and

Tough capping rules pay off as councils keep down poll tax

By DOUGLAS BROOM, LOCAL GOVERNMENT CORRESPONDENT

GOVERNMENT hopes that tough capping rules would keep average poll tax bills below £400 this year as being fulfilled as councils cut their budgets to stay within spending limits.

Figures from the 41 English councils that have so far declared their poll tax level produce an average charge of £392.22 for the year from April. Even hard-line Labour councils are making deep cuts in services to avoid increasing the charge by more than the inflation rate, and some plan a reduction.

A survey by *The Times* of poll tax levels in London, traditionally a barometer for the rest of the country, found that boroughs were overwhelmingly committed to modest rises. Last year London boroughs set the highest and lowest poll tax bills in England

with Labour-controlled Haringey levying a charge of £572 and Conservative Wandsworth levying £148.

Conservative Barnet plans to raise its £338 poll tax to £396, while Ealing, where the Tories won control last May, plans to reduce its £435 poll tax to £395 from April as a result of savings made by winding up activities such as a gay and lesbian advisory service set up by Labour. Conservative Enfield said that its £329 charge would rise to about £380.

Labour-controlled Greenwich said that it planned to make almost no change to its £350 charge. The borough faces capping and is making cuts of £35 million in its budget to stay within reduced spending limits. It also aims to increase its income by setting up a unit to hire out council

buildings and parks for location work by film and TV companies. Hackney, where its Labour council set a charge of £499 last year, plans to reduce that to £462 from April after making cuts in education and social services budgets. Labour-controlled Hammer-smith and Fulham, which charged £424 last year, also said that it was trying to keep down the charge, and sources said that councillors wanted to reduce it to below £400.

Hounslow, the Labour borough next to Heathrow Airport, said that it would increase its poll tax from £396 to £425 from April, a rise in line with inflation, while in Merton, which Labour won from the Tories last May, the tax will rise from £279 to £450. By contrast Tower Hamlets, controlled by the Liberal Democrats, plans to cut its charge by £10 to £287.

The change of tone displayed by councillors is the most striking aspect of this year's poll tax setting round. Councils that last year sought to highlight large poll tax bills in order to blame the government are this year trumpeting their achievements in keeping rises low or reducing bills.

Additional music to ministerial ears came from a Labour survey of Conservative and Liberal Democrat shire districts which found that more than half were planning charges below the government's national average target of £380. A survey by the *Municipal Journal* found that county council budgets would rise by no more than 10 per cent from April.

Although counties do set the poll tax, their prudence will mean that district councils, which levy the poll tax outside London and the metropolitan areas, will not be able to blame them for rises in bills this year.

Some councils are, however, almost certain to fall foul of the capping rules. Conservative Warwickshire and Labour-controlled Ipswich have both said that they would set budgets that breach the rules. Warwickshire, which plans to spend £35.24 million above its capping limit, and Ipswich, which plans a £464 charge from April, blamed the inadequacy of government grants and spending assessments.

Community Charge levels planned or set by councils

Council	Party	£ Current	£ New
LONDON			
Barnet	Con	338	396
Ealing	Con	435	385
Enfield	Con	329	395
Hackney	Lab	499	462
Haringey	Lab	572	572
Harrow	Con	322	372
Hillingdon	Lab	289	370
Hounslow	Lab	396	425
Merton	Lab	279	450
Richmond	Con	290	370
Tower Hamlets	Con	287	287

SHIRE DISTRICTS			
Adur	SLD	349	405
Aylesbury Vale	Con	347	390
Bridgnorth	Ind	307	350
Brighton	Lab	372	385
Bristol	Lab	425	500
Cambridge	Lab	448	489
Chesham	NOC	394	417
Chiltern	Con	390	383
Devon	Con	353	380
Dover	Con	295	329
Enbridge	Con	448	470
Epsom	Res	452	468
Fenland	Con	291	372
Gloucester	Lab	353	407
Leaves	Con	351	405
Mole Valley	NOC	387	394
Northampton	Con	349	388
North Dorset	Ind	285	339
Plymouth	Con	350	400
Rother	Con	352	372
Rushmoor	Con	325	370
St Albans	Con	394	380
Sally	Con	285	345
South Bucks	Con	394	385
Southend	NOC	378	348
Stroud	NOC	372	436
Taunton Deane	Con	349	380
West Dorset	Ind	313	380
Wycombe	Con	400	408

METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS

Solihull	Con	385	408
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Fig. Dep. - Surveying Lab. - Labour 1990 - No Overall Control, Ind - Independent, Res - Conservative, Lab - Labour, Con - Conservative, SLD - Socialist, Ind - Independent, Res - Conservative, Lab - Labour, Con - Conservative, SLD - Socialist.

Source: Municipal Journal, Labour Party, The Times own survey of London boroughs.

Scientists in funds protest

By NIGEL HAWKES, SCIENCE EDITOR

AN OPEN letter to the prime minister protesting at the government's failure to support scientific research has been signed by 72 of Britain's most distinguished scientists and engineers, all now working abroad.

The signatories, who are fellows of the Royal Society or of the Fellowship of Engineering, say Britain is in danger of becoming a minor player in technological development. Without a change in policy, they say, "the economic and social damage would be severe".

People who have signed the letter include Sir Frank Whittle, inventor of the jet engine, Freeman Dyson, the physicist and author, John Fozard, designer of the Harrier jump jet, and Professor Thomas Gold, eminent professor of astronomy at Cornell university. The 72 signatories represent some of the very best scientists and engineers produced by Britain in the past 40 years, most now live in America.

The letter, organised by British Scientists Abroad, the pressure group, says that the signatories are writing to support the petition for improved scientific funding signed by 1,647 expatriate scientists and engineers and delivered to the government a year ago. At the

time, ministers said that many of the signatories were too junior to count as real scientists.

The riposte has been to produce 72 individuals whom even the thickest-skinned minister would have trouble dismissing as insignificant. The letter comes hard on the heels of another from Arnold Wolfendale, the new Astronomer Royal, seeking clarification from Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary, on funding for astronomy and nuclear science. The signatories say in the latest letter that their residence abroad is effectively permanent, implying a de-



Sir Frank: signed letter urging change in policy

tached view of British scientific education and research.

"However, we still wish our country well," they write. "We realise the government must assess many competing demands for the available funds; but progress in civilisation has always meant the ability and the will to balance demand for immediate welfare against prospects for long-term improvement."

They add: "For three centuries, Britain has been one of the world leaders in science and engineering. Unless the government acts to halt the decline in research, we fear that Britain will become a minor player in technological development."

Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, will today urge the prime minister to take immediate steps to safeguard the future of British science.

He writes in a letter to John Major: "According to your own Cabinet Office, British investment in research and development 'is failing to match that of other nations'. Further cuts in real terms in the science base, at a time when all our major competitors are investing in ideas, will mean cuts in information technology, engineering, applications, medical sciences and social sciences."

Birth control vaccine tested

By THOMSON PRENTICE, MEDICAL CORRESPONDENT

AMERICAN scientists are developing contraceptive vaccines that could be offered to women volunteers within the next few years. Two experimental versions have been successful in tests on animals, the American Association for the Advancement of Science conference in Washington was told at the weekend.

John Herr, of Virginia university, said that his laboratory had made a compound, based on a protein found only in sperm, that stimulated female antibodies to prevent conception. The protein, SP-10, stopped eggs being fertilised in rabbits, hamsters and baboons. Dr Herr said that he planned to begin further trials with baboons in April and, if they

went well, human tests could start in 1993.

Paul Primakoff, of Connecticut university, said that he and his colleagues were developing another version based on a protein called PH-20, part of the outer coating of sperm. Tests on hamsters showed that it blocked conception for up to 18 months and the next step towards carrying out human trials would be to conduct tests on primates.

The goal for researchers is a long-lasting, reversible vaccine that would be cheap and easy to administer. That would make it particularly valuable to family planning programmes in developing countries. The appeal of the two new vaccines is that they

do not contain hormones, which often produce side effects. Injectable contraceptives based on female hormones are already in use, but need to be given every few months.

Aids will be the leading cause of death among adults in sub-Saharan Africa within the next 25 years, according to American experts.

The US Bureau of Census told the conference that there would be more than 70 million cases of the disease in Africa by the year 2015. Large proportions of the adult populations in parts of Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia are already infected with HIV, the virus which leads to Aids, researchers said.

Slimbridge reserve facing oil threat

An oil slick in the Severn estuary has devastated wildlife.

Now high tides could bring more misery, writes David Young

HIGH tides in the Severn estuary over the next 48 hours may finally disperse an oil slick which has killed an estimated 40,000 birds, but there are fears that the tide could take oil upriver to threaten the wildlife reserve at Slimbridge in Gloucestershire.

Flocks of birds wintering in the area have been devastated but environmentalists monitoring the slick over the past week believe that more damage could have been done by spraying the oil with detergent solvents. The National Rivers Authority (NRA) decided attempts should be made to suck up the oil. The Severn's violent tidal flow has now reduced the slick to ribbons which are being scooped up by eight boats.

A fractured pipe at British Steel's Llanwern works leaked an estimated 20 tons of fuel oil into the Severn. Samples of oil have been taken from contaminated birds and from beaches and the firm faces prosecution and civil claims for damages.

Still at risk are 300 shelducks, 20,000 gulls, 7,000



Swan lifeline: Chris Sperring, of the Avon Wildlife Trust, rescuing a victim of the slick from Portishead beach

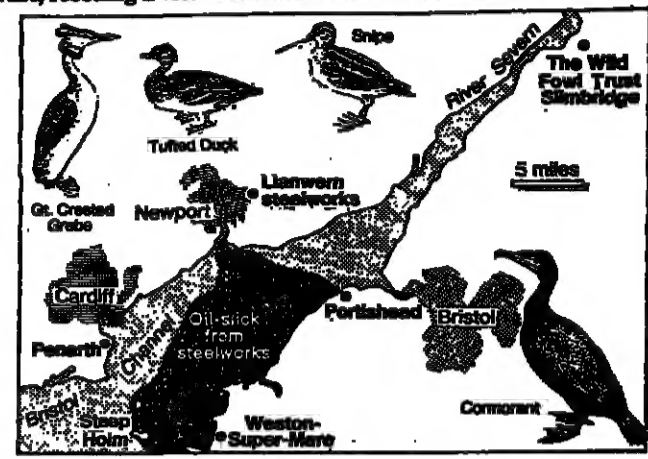
wading dunnies and hordes of mute swans, great crested grebes, snipes, tufted ducks, redshanks and reed buntings wintering in the estuary.

At the Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust at Slimbridge, winter refuge for an estimated 11,000 waders and ducks, Jenny Turner said: "There are some very high tides to come over the next few days and we keep our fingers crossed and praying."

Steve Mickewright, of the Avon Wildlife Trust, said: "The estuary is a site of special scientific interest and

its nesting sites are of European-wide importance. The freeze has driven thousands of birds to the salty waters of the Severn. There are more birds in the area than at any time since 1987. The positive thing is that the government agencies got it right. Detergent puts more toxins into the environment."

On the island sanctuary of Steep Holm, the warden Rodney Legg said the colony of cormorants had been reduced by half and the greater black-backed gulls had been virtually wiped out.



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حزب من الاحل

Bullring blast kills 22 in Colombia's drug capital

FROM REUTER IN MEDELLIN

TWENTY-two people were killed and many more injured, after a car bomb exploded among a crowd of thousands leaving a bullfight in the Colombian drug capital, Medellin, late on Saturday night. The bomb was apparently aimed at a police patrol.

The violence was the worst in Colombia for several months, the authorities said yesterday. No group has so far claimed responsibility, and officials said there were no clues to identify the culprits. "Whoever is responsible, these acts are carried out by enemies of Colombia, of its democracy, liberty and people," the government said in a statement condemning the attack.

The car was packed with 440lb

of explosives and detonated by remote control. It blew up in a packed street outside the Macarena bullring near the centre of Medellin, Colombia's second largest city. Police and hospital officials confirmed 22 deaths, including those of eight policemen who were apparently the specific target of the attack. Another 140 people were treated for injuries in hospital, several with severe burns.

The explosion sent a fireball roaring down the street, turning dozens of cars into scorched and twisted wrecks. Charred bodies were strewn around as rescue workers tried to pull other victims from the wrecked cars.

Medellin, the base of Colombia's biggest cocaine cartel, has been a battleground since the government declared war on the drug traffickers in 1989, after the death of a presidential candidate, and the drug cartels responded with intimidation, bombings and assassinations.

There had been a lull since last summer after President César Gaviria offered drug traffickers immunity from extradition if they gave themselves up and confessed. This was the first serious bomb blast since then. Left-wing guerrillas, who recently launched a new offensive against the government, have also bombed police patrols in cities but have never attacked on this scale.

The Medellin bomb exploded a few hours after a top drug trafficker, Juan David Ochoa, surrendered to justice officials in an apparent new success for the government's policy of placating the powerful traffickers. Ochoa, aged 42, is wanted in the United States where he is accused of being a leading member of the Medellin cocaine cartel.

His surrender follows that of his younger brothers and fellow cartel members Fabio and Jorge Luis, who also gave themselves up recently in exchange for immunity from extradition and less-than-maximum jail terms. The Ochoas' surrender is believed to have left Pablo Escobar, the fugitive Medellin cartel boss who is thought to be the main architect of Colombia's drug violence, isolated.

● **LIMA:** Peru's security forces have begun to crack the "very nerve centre" of one of Latin America's most ruthless and secretive guerrilla groups, the Maoist Shining Path, President Alberto Fujimori said at the weekend. Six of the group's top leaders had been captured in a series of raids last month. Police also seized quantities of Shining Path documents and computer disks.

But the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, another guerrilla group that has plagued the government for years, has become more active and better-armed after 48 of its members escaped from jail last year, Señor Fujimori said.

Shining Path's 11-year-old war to turn Peru into a worker-peasant state has claimed 21,000 lives, cost the economy \$10 billion and brought parts of Peru's Andean highlands to the brink of civil war. Both the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement and Shining Path are widely believed to have ties with Peru's thriving cocaine trade.

President Fujimori said he believed the United States had abandoned the idea that Peru's \$1 billion-a-year cocaine trade could be fought with military force alone, saying that the effort must include incentives for coca farmers to switch to other crops.

The president hopes to receive \$99 million in American anti-drug aid next month. He said past anti-drug efforts in Peru had failed in part because they concentrated too narrowly on force. (Reuters)



Bermúdez: few surprised at flamboyant leader's killing

re-entered politics, demanding the return of lands and property confiscated by the Sandinistas from former allies of Somoza who had fled into exile. Like many former exiles, he was appalled at the extent to which Señora Chamorro has allowed the Sandinista party to retain power in the police, armed forces and civil service.

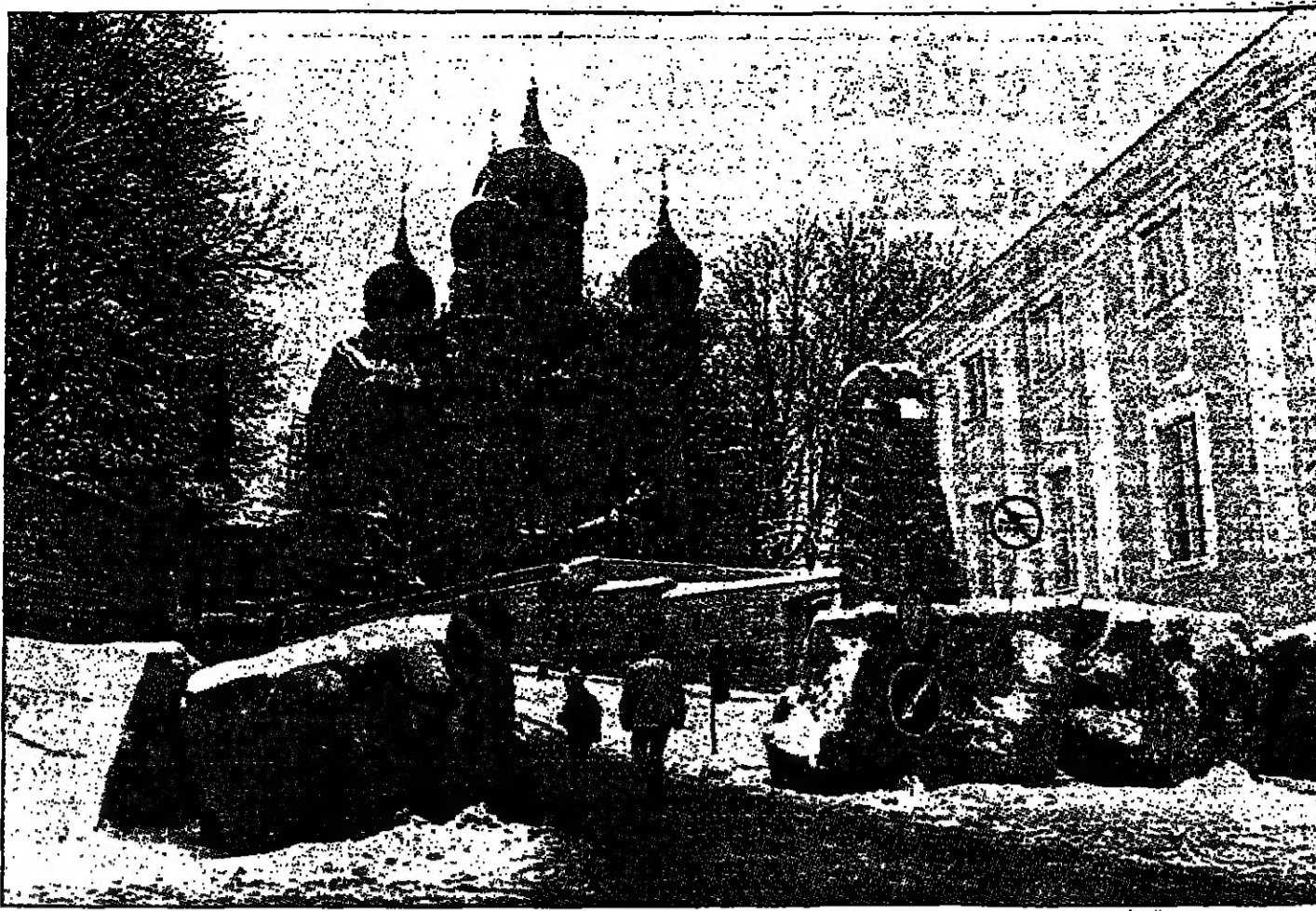
In 1979, Bermúdez was known as one of the toughest colonels in Somoza's National Guard, which was notorious for its brutality. He was serving as military attaché in Washington at the time of the revolution. He stayed in exile, helping set up the Democratic Resistance force, or Contreras, the guerrilla army organised by the Central Intelligence Agency, Oliver North and other officials in the Reagan administration.

Bermúdez weathered the political infighting among the Contra leadership, becoming their military chief in the mid-1980s. Operating from a base in Honduras, he reorganised the forces, and led them in some successes against Sandinista forces in 1988.

He was opposed, however, by a number of ground commanders, who believed that he was tainted by the civil rights abuses and corruption of the Somoza regime. Bermúdez was ousted as the rebels' top military leader a few days before the February elections last year.

The Contras banded in their arms and signed a peace treaty short; before the Chamorro government took power in April, but there has been little reconciliation between the fighters on each side.

The Sandinistas and human rights organisations accused Contra troops working for Bermúdez of killing two nuns, one an American citizen, in an attack on a church vehicle in northern Nicaragua in January last year.



Ready for trouble: barricades remain on the streets of central Tallin, Estonia after being erected during Soviet army repression in Lithuania last month. Estonians will vote on independence on March 3, despite President Gorbachev's condemnation of the move.

Gandhi poised for return to power

FROM CHRISTOPHER THOMAS IN DELHI

RAJIV Gandhi, the former prime minister, appears to be preparing for an attempt to take power from India's minority government, formed just three months ago.

Mr Gandhi has held four private meetings with President Venkatarman in the past ten days amid indications that he will seek to return to power as the head of a coalition government some time during the 11-week budget session of parliament, which begins on Thursday.

A sign of Mr Gandhi's continuing influence was demonstrated yesterday when it was reported that Chandra Shekhar, the prime minister, had banned United States military aircraft from refuelling in Bombay and Madras on their way from the Philippines to the Gulf.

The ban was apparently made after reports that Mr Gandhi, who has opposed the refuelling on the grounds that it violates India's non-alignment, would withdraw his Congress (I) party's support for the government unless it was stopped. His move will please the 110 million Muslims in India who had abandoned their support for his party in the last elections.

Mr Gandhi's party, defeated in a general election 15 months ago, is the biggest in parliament but lacks an overall majority. He is believed to be seeking support from dissident MPs from smaller parties to back him in an attempt to return to power without facing another election. He believes he will have a greater chance of regaining his party's low standing in the polls if he governs for a reasonably long period before elections. Private polls conducted by the Congress party indicate that Mr Gandhi would fail to win an outright majority if there were an election now.

His party's traditional vote-bank of brahmins, Muslims and harijans (untouchables) is under siege from several quarters. The hardline Hindu organisation, the Bharatiya Janata Party, has won over many brahmins. They, in turn, influence voting trends

among numerous high-caste voters. Other parties are wooing Muslims and harijans.

The present government, headed by the Janata Dal (Socialist) party, has only 54 MPs in the Lok Sabha (lower house), more than half of whom are ministers. Five of those ministers, including V. P. Shukla, the foreign minister, were expelled from parliament several weeks ago by the Speaker for allegedly violating anti-defection legislation during a substantial political realignment last November. Although they are still in their posts, Mr Chandra Shekhar will eventually have little choice but to dismiss them. That will further destabilise his administration, for once they have gone the minority government will be hard pressed to find non-controversial replacements from among the small number of its

MPs who do not have a ministerial post already.

The device Mr Gandhi might use to bring himself to power has not been decided. It could take the form of a vote of confidence, or a vote on an important piece of legislation. Once the government has been defeated, most MPs can be expected to back Mr Gandhi's bid for power. It is also possible that Mr Chandra Shekhar will work willingly with the former prime minister in the creation of a new coalition government, rather than face a parliamentary defeat.

Mr Gandhi is in no mood for an early election. The Congress party's private poll last November indicated that it might win only 100 seats in the Lok Sabha, which is why it co-operated in the creation of the Chandra Shekhar administration. The poll gave 242 seats to the Bharatiya Janata

Party. President Venkatarman also wants to avoid an early poll, but for different reasons: he believes the country would explode into caste and communal confrontation.

Many observers say that corruption in the present government is endemic and blatant. The administration has been criticised for its virtual silence and inaction during the build-up to the war in the Gulf, even though India became a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council on January 1.

The government's authority has been further eroded by political turmoil in the states, with direct rule imposed in Assam and Tamil Nadu, and the threat of direct rule now hanging over the pivotal northern state of Bihar.

Gulf reports, pages 2 and 3

Parcel bomb killing renews ANC suspicion over hit squad activity

FROM RAY KENNEDY IN JOHANNESBURG

THE African National Congress has demanded that the South African government produce "total and verifiable" proof that hit squad activities have been stopped, after a prominent black lawyer was killed by a parcel bomb at the weekend.

Bhele Mlangeni, aged 32, died instantly in his Soweto home, outside Johannesburg, on Friday night when he opened a package containing a personal tape-recorder and a cassette labelled: "Evidence of hit squad activities." The instant he pressed the play button, an explosive charge in the headphones detonated.

Mlangeni had been involved in investigations into the activities of police hit squads and the Civil Co-operation Bureau of the South African Defence Force, which were allegedly formed to eliminate anti-government activists. How-

ever, it appears that the bomb was intended originally to kill Dirk Coetzee, the former South African police captain, who claims to have been a hit-squad commander and killer, and who now lives in London.

Mr Coetzee told the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* that he was informed last August, when he was living in Zambia, that there was a parcel addressed to him at the Lusaka post office. He went to collect it in October, but refused to accept it because of the duty he was asked to pay. The sender was identified on the package as "Bhele", with a garbled version of the name and address of the legal firm for which Mlangeni worked in Johannesburg. On Friday it was left in his office pigeon-hole.

According to the ANC, an unidentified white woman telephoned Mlangeni's home three

times last week leaving messages for him to collect a parcel from a Johannesburg post office. Mlangeni had questioned Mr Coetzee numerous times during visits to Lusaka to investigate hit squad allegations for the Board of Informal Repression.

Adrian Vlok, the minister of law and order, has expressed horror at the killing and promised an investigation. The ANC said it was clear the murder was carried out by people with access to "the best state-of-the-art assassination equipment". It called for verifiable proof that hit squads have been disbanded and the immediate suspension of the activities of counter-insurgency units. According to the government, all Civil Co-operation Bureau units were disbanded months ago.

Leading article, page 13

Cape Verde president expected to lose election

FROM REUTER IN PRAIA, CAPE VERDE

CAPE Verde completed its transition from a one-party to a multi-party system yesterday with a presidential election that is widely expected to end the 15-year rule of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV).

Forecasters predicted that Antonio Monteiro, the Movement for Democracy (MPD) candidate, would oust Aristides Pereira, the PAICV leader. The early turnout

was low, however, despite fine weather. Polling stations, where people formed long queues for last month's parliamentary elections to vote the opposition MPD into power, were almost deserted yesterday.

Mr Pereira has been president since the West African archipelago gained its independence from Portugal in 1975. Many of the 160,000-strong electorate in Cape

Verde said they would not vote after a four-week election campaign that turned into a slanging match between the two candidates.

"The post of president has been stained, whoever wins will not have much credibility," one political analyst said. The parliamentary elections on January 13 were the first multi-party polls held in Portugal's five former

African colonies, which have all had leftist one-party rule since independence.

● **COTONOU:** President Mathieu Kérékou of Benin, who abandoned Marxism under public pressure, will stand for re-election in March, the state radio said yesterday. The president, aged 58, who seized power in a military coup in October 1972, will be one of 15 candidates. (Reuters)

Jailed dissident condemns China's silent intellectuals

FROM CATHERINE SAMPSON IN PEKING

ONE of the alleged masterminds of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations, who was jailed for 13 years last week, has written a defiant letter from prison condemning intellectuals for not speaking out on behalf of those who died in the Peking killings.

The letter, by Wang Jintao, aged 32, is the first such document to emerge for years from the secrecy surrounding China's political prisoners. His refusal to be cowed by a heavy sentence means he might re-emerge as an important player in Chinese politics, untainted by "repentance" or escape abroad.

The dissident was allowed to write the four-page letter just hours after his trial. "I know that acting in this way will make my punishment more severe," he wrote of his speech in court in defence of the pro-democracy movement of 1989. "But this is the only way to allow those who died to rest in peace, so that on

the ground where they shed their hot blood there are still compatriots in the most difficult situations who are not avoiding danger and who are speaking out from a sense of justice."

Wang's lawyers entered a not guilty plea, but he was convicted of plotting to overthrow the government. His letter was addressed to his two lawyers, but the contents have been made available by sources. He wrote that his lengthy sentence "freezes my conscience, it comforts me".

"When I see so many leaders and sponsors of the movement who, when they face the consequences do not dare to take responsibility and who slander the movement, I feel very bad about it," he wrote.

Chen Ziming, an economist aged 38, also pleaded not guilty and was sentenced to 13 years in jail. Both men had been involved in democracy movements since 1976, and together had established a radical think-tank called the Social and Economic Research Institute, which gained

the ear of Zhao Ziyang, the ousted party leader. Wang and Chen could have earned lighter sentences by repenting their involvement in the unrest.

Wang wrote that it was strange that so few people should face trial on political charges after the vast upheaval of 1989. The Chinese authorities have announced that many detainees have been released without facing trial after they "repented".

"This makes me feel even more ashamed for my compatriots," he wrote. "This is not in accordance with the traditions of the Chinese people."

During his trial he looked thinner and weaker, after a recent bout of hepatitis B. He was allowed to speak for an hour, in accordance with Chinese law, but the judge interrupted 17 times and said if he did not stick to the facts, he would not be allowed to speak.

Wang's letter said he was concerned less by defects in the system that could be put right with policy and legislation, than

by "the loss of spirit and morality and standards of the nation". He was not opposed to any particular leader but "what I protect are principles, what I uphold is conscience".

● **Competitive spirit** — Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese leader, counts pool among the reasons for his continued hold over nearly a quarter of the world's population at an advanced age.



Deng: pool, swimming and soccer are secret of long life

"Comrade Deng Xiaoping is 86 years old, but his health is extremely good. What are the secrets of his longevity?" asked the *Xinjiang Daily* newspaper. A happy family, optimism, bridge, football and swimming were just part of the story. "He also likes to play pool and in fact he's a very good shot and always scores high points," the newspaper reported.

The Chinese leader is a frequent visitor to Shanghai, reportedly to receive medical treatment. He celebrated Chinese New Year in the city last week, and was shown on television at an official party.

During each of his frequent disappearances, which can last months, rumours begin to circulate about his precarious health. Many diplomats and Chinese believe that Mr Deng's death will herald a period of even greater political instability. Stories like that in the *Xinjiang Daily* appear to be published to persuade readers that their leader is not about to die, and that China is stable.

Ukraine rebels to challenge Moscow

FROM ROBERT SEELY IN KIEV

THE Ukraine's three rebellious provinces agreed wide-ranging plans at the weekend to introduce radical economic and education changes. The democratically elected leaders of the regions, described by President Gorbachev as one of the country's "hotbeds of tension", said the forthcoming referendum on the state of the Soviet Union would give them a mandate to demand greater independence from the central Soviet authorities.

Irina Kalinets, a Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputy, said: "This will mean an end to the communist economy and no more jobs for those who have been sitting behind desks all their lives. Dependence on the Soviet Union is an illusion."

The programme centres on unifying the economic structures of Lvov, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankovsk, which make up the old region of Eastern Galicia and border central Europe. Industrial and economic output has, until now, been included in the general economic plan for the Soviet Union. With the gradual collapse of that plan and claims by the provinces' leaders that they have been victims of a campaign to undermine them, the regions have decided to privatise their economic and agricultural output.

Mrs Kalinets said the move was a prelude to privatisation and the market economy.

Dalai Lama talks ruled out by Major

John Major has turned down a request for a meeting with the Dalai Lama of Tibet. In a written reply to the Dalai Lama's invitation to meet him during his visit to Britain next month Mr Major said that no government recognises the political body of the Tibetan government-in-exile.

The Dalai Lama, who is leader of the exiled administration in Dharamsala, India, has been invited to come to Britain by the all-party parliamentary group for Tibet to mark the international year of Tibet.

Afghan ambush

Iskandari — Guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed Afghan government said they ambushed a supply convoy in the northern province of Samangan, killing 14 people and burning four military vehicles. The convoy was attacked on its way from Mazar-i-Sharif, capital of adjoining Balkh province. (Reuters)

Talks on Rwanda

Nairobi — President Museveni of Uganda and President Habyarimana of Rwanda will meet in Zanzibar for talks after the recent invasion of Rwanda from Ugandan territory. The meeting follows pressure from European diplomats in Kampala for direct talks to settle the quarrel between the two countries. (Reuters)

Avalanche toll

Courmayeur, Italy — Rescue workers found the bodies of seven people, including a two-year-old child, killed by an avalanche on the Italian side of Mont Blanc on Sunday. A spokesman said rescuers held out little hope for another ten people feared buried. (Reuters)

Spain plot foiled

Madrid — Spanish secret service agents thwarted a plot in 1985 for the simultaneous assassination of King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia, the prime minister, several members of his government, and generals and admirals loyal to the royal family, the Madrid daily *El País* reported.

Ershad trial delay

Dhaka — The trial of former President Ershad has been postponed as the ousted former army chief was found by doctors to be too weak to stand in the dock. General Ershad, toppled after nine years in power amid violent protests last December, faces charges relating to firearms and abuse of power.

Hospital blaze

Paris — A fire that ravaged a wing of the 17th century Laennec hospital killed one patient and injured 23, five seriously. The dead patient was identified as a tramp in his 40s. More than a hundred firemen were called into tackle the blaze, believed to have started accidentally. (AP)

Foot marks

Peking — All 320 million feet running around the playground of China's elementary and high schools may soon be wearing the same shoes. The *Guangming Daily* reported that the light industry ministry will standardise footwear for schoolchildren this year. (AFP)

At last,
a luxury car
that's long
on luxury
but not short
on car.

Settle into the electrically adjustable leather seats of the new Peugeot 605 SVE 24.

Listen to the double-sealed door shut with a deep, soundproofed thud. Run your fingers over the Californian walnut.

You will feel the office slip away, and you're not even out of the car park. Subjective terms like 'luxurious' inevitably spring to mind. However, Autocar and Motor magazine were able to be completely objective.

They compared the 605's levels of



refinement with those of the Jaguar XJ6, and came to the conclusion that, "...in some respects it (the 605) even exceeds them."

Next, carefully examine the rows of controls.

Our designers have made sure you don't have to be a 747 pilot to work out what they do, though one or two may be unfamiliar to you: those that control the heated front seats, for example, and the electronic climate control system which automatically maintains your pre-set temperature.

In view of the fact that very few people will be able to resist the 605 SVE 24's sumptuous interior, we've fitted an ultrasonic alarm as standard.

(For additional protection there's a security key pad which you can order as

an optional extra. Before the engine can be started, the correct four-digit sequence has to be keyed in.)

More familiar will be the buttons for the electric sunroof, the electrically operated heated door mirrors, and the one touch driver's window.

Naturally, there's cruise control. And the stereo radio control? It's on one of the 4 steering column stalks, of course.

Several switches are duplicated on these stalks for fingertip control, though the 32 main controls have all been designed to fall readily to hand, and "...even with the wheel set fully back and down, the compre-

hensive and clear instrument panel is fully visible to a six foot-plus driver." Autocar and Motor.

Should you decide to test drive the new 605 SVE (and we sincerely hope you do) we suggest you take it through a variety of road and driving conditions, because you'll find there's virtually no variation in the 605's

ride. Peugeot's engineers have built in an automatic electronic ride control.

This keeps your journey smooth by constantly adjusting the settings of the shock absorbers between hard and soft, based on information received from

sensors around the car.

Each of the shocks contains a tiny electric motor that carries out these adjustments in just 150th of a second.

And while you're relaxing as you watch the world fly by, it's unlikely you'll hear it fly by. The 700 hours the 605 spent in our wind tunnel has given it the best drag coefficient in its class.

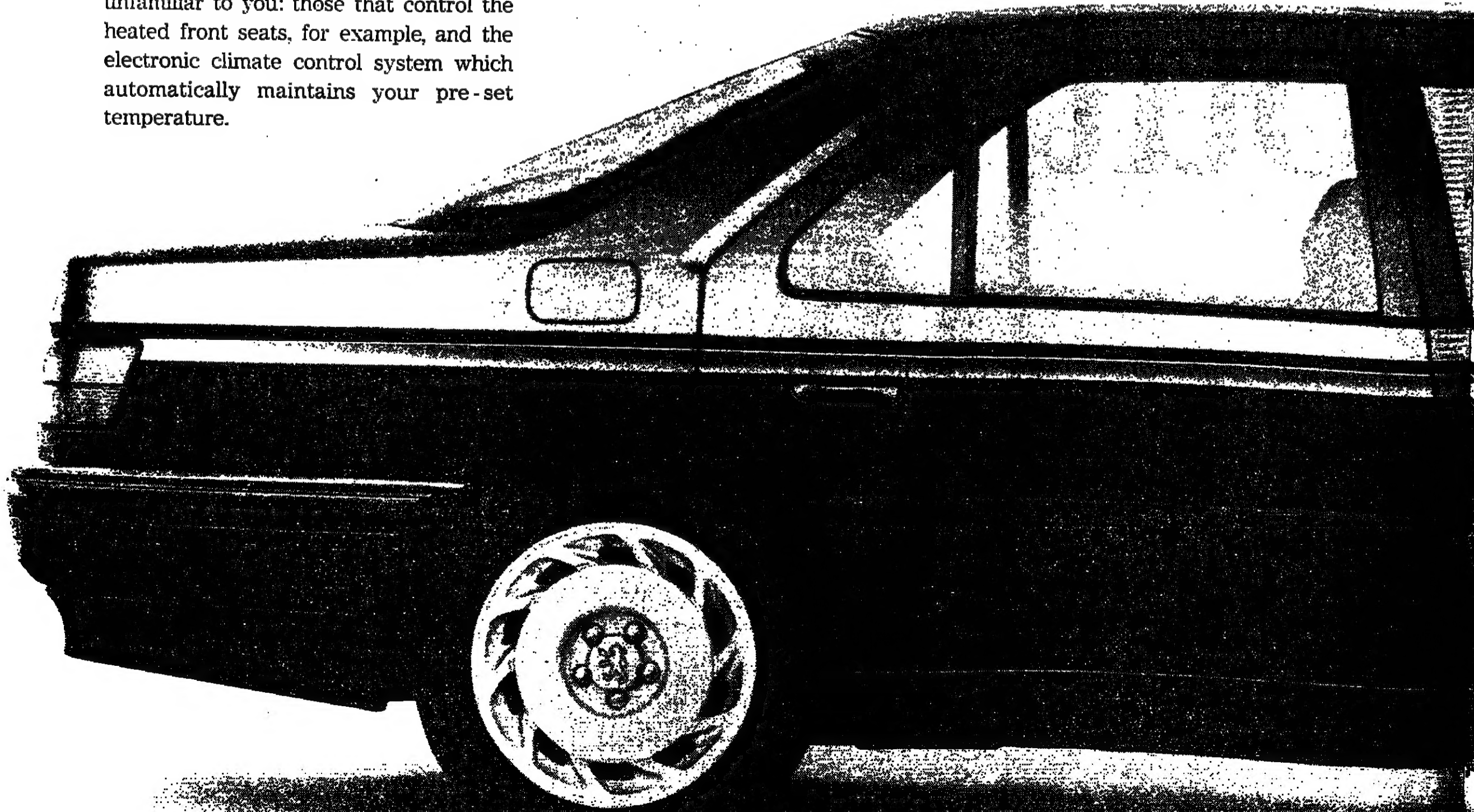
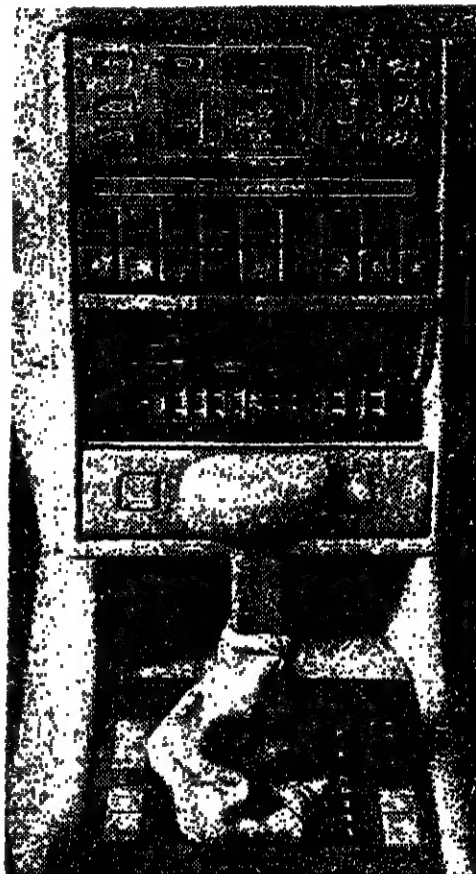
Just for good measure we've added 3 silencers to the exhaust and double sealing for any pipes or wires passing from the engine to the cabin. We've even mounted the engine on its own hydraulically dampened suspension system.

All this has created the kind of refined interior environment that until now

was only found in the world's most expensive luxury cars.

As far as the exterior environment is concerned, rest assured each 605 petrol model runs on unleaded, and each one, from the £16,660* SLi to the £26,520 SVE 24, is fitted with three-way catalytic converters that exceed forthcoming E.E.C. emission standards.

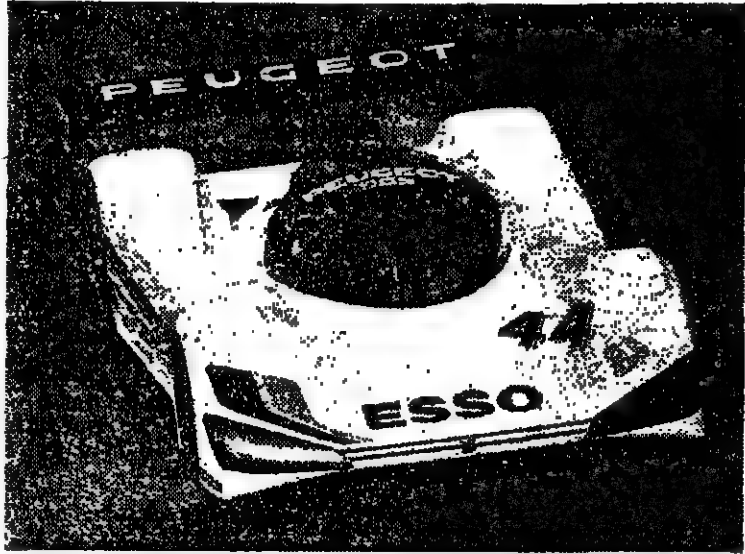
So everyone can relax as a 605 flies by, whether it be 2 litre, 3 litre, turbo diesel or 24 valve V6.



"A real driver's car that rides well, is quiet, roomy and well built is still the exception rather than the rule in this market sector. The 605 has all the credentials it needs." Autocar & Motor.

That was the kind of response we'd hoped for, not just because it shows the 605 in a good light, but because it touched on a truth we'd discovered when talking to drivers of executive cars.

Many of these drivers had found, to their cost, that manufacturers often give their cars a veneer of luxury features so they look terrific in the showroom, but once out on the open road they show all the driving characteristics of a Chesterfield sofa.



At Peugeot we pride ourselves on the performance and handling of all our cars. When we entered the 'hot hatchback' market we revolutionised it with the now legendary 205 GTI.

We wouldn't have entered the luxury car market unless we were confident we could do the same.

For sheer power there can be no doubt that the 605 SVE 24 is a wolf in Saville Row clothing. In controlled tests it accelerated comfortably to 145mph, leaving its German cousins, the Audi V8 and the BMW 735i, in its wake.

But power alone is no mark of engineering sophistication. More important is how efficiently a car uses that power.

One of the problems with high performance engines is that with a fixed airflow volume they suffer from relatively poor gas inflow at low revs. In other words, acceleration in fourth and fifth gears is impaired.

Car.

Peugeot's engineers have solved this problem with a variable inlet manifold, so that gas velocity, and consequently torque, is increased at lower revs. The result is that with a 605 SVE 24 you don't have to change down to accelerate.

An engine's ability to produce power can also be affected by things like air temperature, fuel octane rating and even altitude. (A conventional engine actually performs less well in the Swiss Alps than in the Dutch Lowlands).

To overcome this, Peugeot's engineers have devised an engine management system that automatically takes all these factors into consideration, and chooses the optimum spark timing and fuel injection timings from a choice of 11,664 permutations.

However, as any racing car designer will tell you, for a driver to be in complete control, chassis design is paramount. Our racing car designers, whose 905 will be racing at Le Mans this year, have been invaluable in helping to engineer the unique 605 ride and handling system.

The double wishbone rear suspension is derived from the classic layout

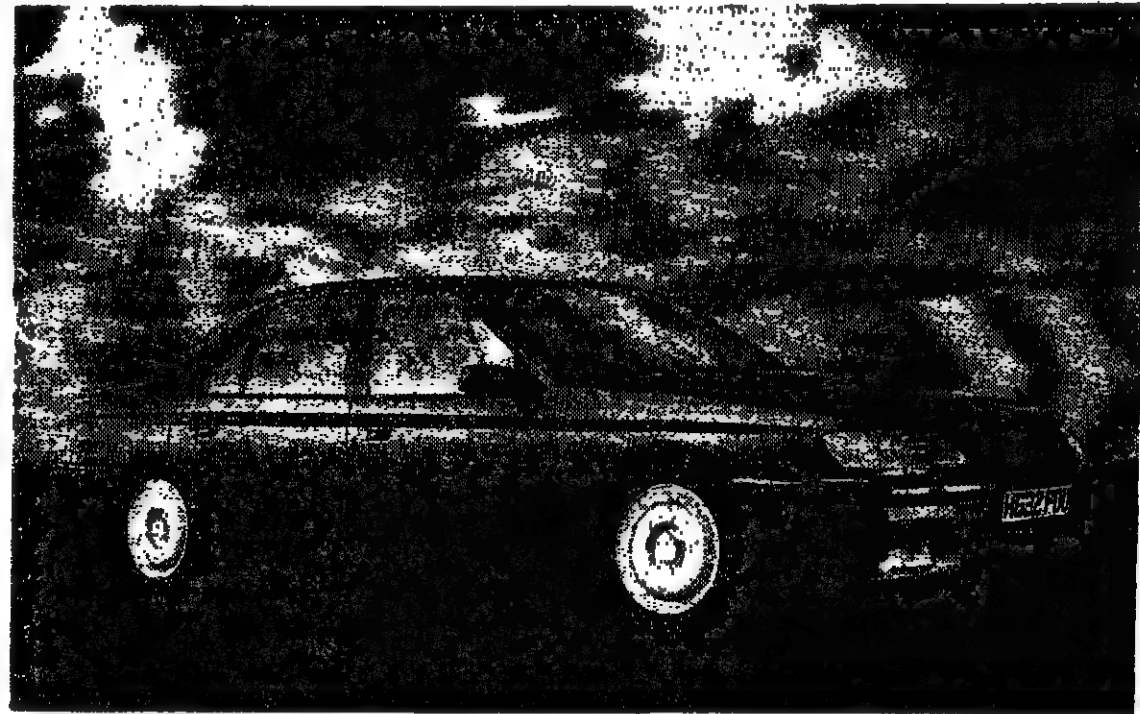
of competition and sports cars, with computers being used to set the ideal geometry for keeping 'rubber on the road'.

A special lateral link has been added to the rear suspension which prevents the front from diving when braking sharply, and the rear from squatting when accelerating. Speed-variable power steering takes the effort out of negotiating the 605's 4.7 metres around the company car park, then gets progressively more taut and responsive as the car's speed increases.

Car & Driver said, "The Peugeot handles superbly, ranking among the very best large front-drive automobiles. Indeed the 605 has such good balance and grip that the uninformed might not be able to decide if the front or rear wheels are doing the driving," and who are we to disagree.

Needless to say, the high performance 605 comes complete with a high performance braking system. ABS and all-round servo-assisted brakes are fitted as standard across the range.

If you'd like to know more about how the 605 flies by, ask your secretary to call 0800-678800 for a free Driver



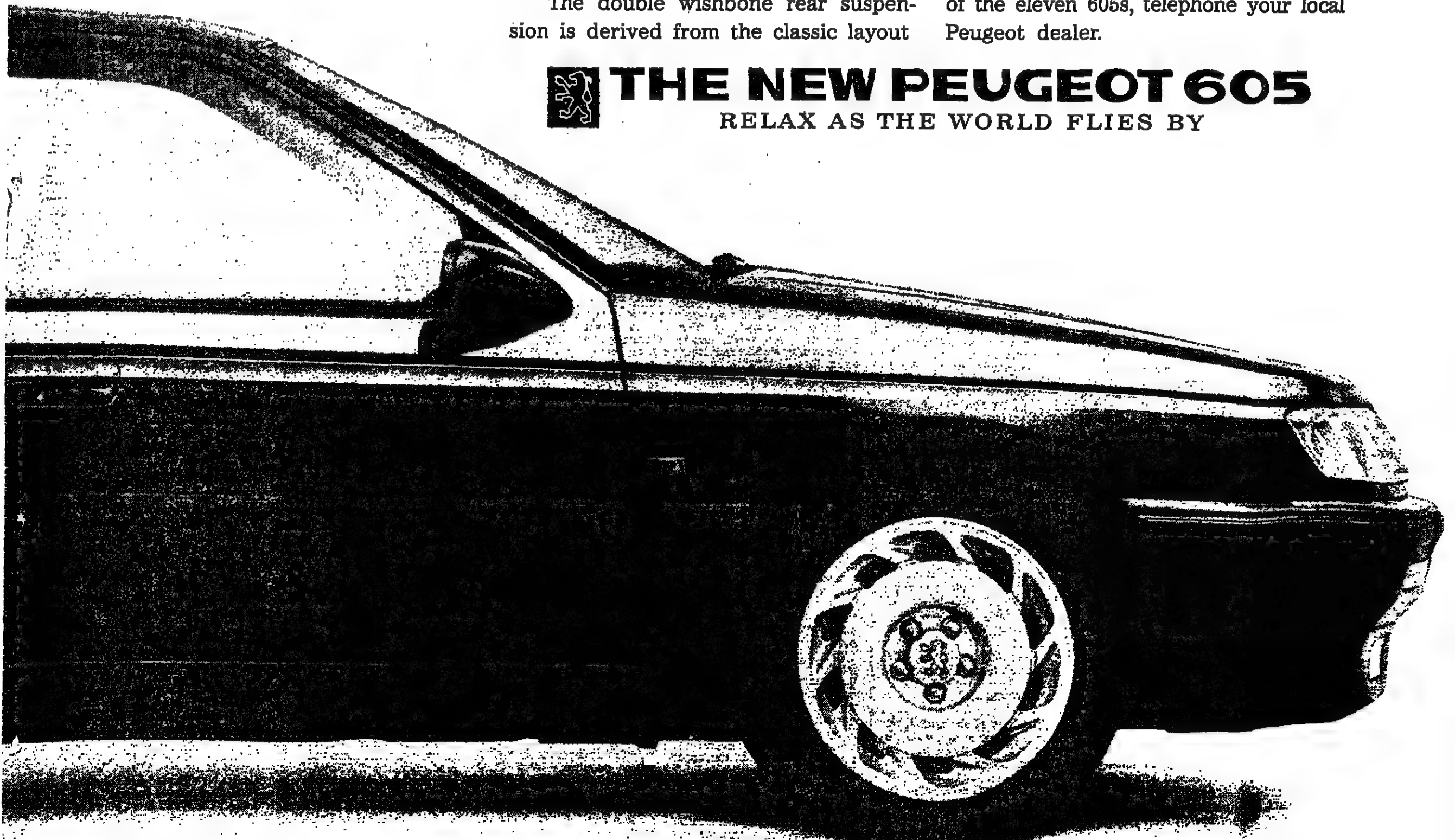
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No asylum for job-hunters

Ronald Butt

From east to west and from north to south, migrants are on the move throughout the world. In mainland Europe, nothing has been seen like it since the end of the war. Then millions of Germans were driven from lands which had been German since the Middle Ages in order to shift the German-Polish border westwards (as compensation for the east Polish lands annexed by Stalin).

Last year Germany took several hundred thousand ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe, who have a constitutional right of settlement, and more than 180,000 others, about half from the Third World.

Elsewhere in Europe, the pressure is largely from Third World migrants, not least those from north Africa who press into Italy and Spain across those countries' long open coastlines and also into France, where they add to the existing tensions arising from the presence of three million Muslims. The governments of all these countries have become increasingly alarmed at the potential social consequences.

In Britain, where the post-war New Commonwealth settlement created in many cities concentrated enclaves of people with other languages, religions and cultures, the new population movement presents a serious problem. As the Salman Rushdie affair and attitudes to the Gulf war have shown, the basic socio-political principles of these new communities can differ sharply from those of the British majority.

Moreover, although primary immigration of job-seekers has been stopped in Britain (as in virtually all the rest of the world), secondary immigration of the families of those already here continues at a rate of some 50,000 a year, and this figure is expected to rise. To these numbers (and to the many thousands of students who never leave) must be added a huge increase in would-be migrants who arrive claiming refugee status under the UN definition of a "well-founded fear of persecution" but who are mostly seeking economic self-betterment.

Yet while the claim of persecution is often believed to be false, it can seldom be proved, so it becomes virtually impossible to send them back. Thus although only some 25 per cent are accepted as refugees, a further 65 per cent are given "exceptional leave to remain" while their claims are investigated - which means in practice that they also stay permanently. Only 10 per cent are refused entry and of these a mere quarter actually depart. The rest stay on, using the right of appeal which can take years to process.

In short, some 95 per cent of all who ask for asylum contrive to stay permanently, even though most are not political refugees. What makes this so serious is the dramatic rise in the numbers arriving. During most of the 1980s applications for asylum in Britain ran at about 5,000 a year, or less. In 1989 the number trebled to 15,000; in 1990 that figure doubled to an estimated 30,000, and is set to go on doubling every year

ahead. Added to "secondary" immigration, it is more than can be borne without risking massive social and economic tensions.

Two developments underlie this phenomenon. The first is the dramatic fall in air fares. The second is that organising "refugees" has become a business, or, more precisely, a racket. The refugees are often guided by covert couriers, sometimes by a circuitous route to avoid difficult airports, and supplied if need be with brilliantly forged documents, all at an inclusive price. Others arrive without papers, having destroyed them en route to make it impossible to establish their status.

Today's immigrants are coming from wholly new sources - from Turkey (mainly Kurds), Zaire, Zambia, Somalia and Sri Lanka, to name only a few.

So what should Britain do? First, it must maintain the frontier controls, made feasible by being an island, despite the European Community's pressure for no internal barriers and for common external frontier arrangements. This is essential since the other EC countries, with long land frontiers, hardly try to control immigration, relying instead on lack of papers (on which work and social security benefits depend) to deter illegal immigration. Some ten million illegal immigrants are thought to float around the rest of the Community, and without frontier controls Britain would become open to them.

In addition, more effective means must be found of testing the credentials of claimants to asylum. The Home Secretary, Kenneth Baker, is now examining ways and means, though whatever he proposes will be subject to reflection attack by the libertarian lobby which has always in practice refused to acknowledge any social dangers in immigration, whatever the level.

From Lithuania and Georgia to Yugoslavia and Albania, and from the Indian sub-continent to the states of Africa, there is inter-communal tension. Yet the prospective risks here are ignored by those human-rights theorists who would like the world (as one put it to me) to become a mosaic of inter-penetrating cultures with all doors open, on the grounds that freedom to migrate is a "human right". But in the last analysis, a society's wish to defend its own stability and identity is also a human right.

Given our proper commitment to accept genuine political refugees, it will not be easy to stem the rising tide of an economic migration that has something of the same character as the population movements of the dark ages. It is the harder because many do come from lands lacking our standards of freedom, even though escape from persecution is not their motive for leaving.

But we can at least start by recognising that the present migration, if unchecked, will be self-defeating - undermining the very characteristics and achievements of the societies that attract the migrants.

...and moreover

MATTHEW PARRIS

I often think it's comical
How nature always does contrive
That every boy and every girl
That's born into the world alive
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative.

On Saturday I watched one of W.S. Gilbert's little Conservatives, though by no means at the birth. She was (I would say) about nine. Small, thin and rather pale, she was nevertheless a resilient little thing: forceful yet perfectly feminine. She was self-possessed in a way only a little girl can be and had the sort of infant dignity that empowers even one so young to reprove.

She was reproofing her father when first she caught my attention. I was sitting a few seats away, in a railway carriage.

"Dad, you shouldn't use that word." Her father had been swearing. He was about 45, overweight, with thinning hair, anorak and jeans, and scuffed shoes. He had a bull neck and an indelicate, stubby sort of face. He ignored her reproof.

"This f--- diesel car is 40 years old. It's a disgrace. Underinvestment..." he muttered, as much to himself as to his daughter.

"Well, it does work. It's taking us to Derby."

"It's not safe."

"Why?"

"They didn't make them so safe 40 years ago."

"Were there more crashes?"

"No. Less. They didn't mind spending money on trains, then."

"But you said before that the

tickets cost much too much..."

He made no reply, declining (perhaps) to press the distinction between public and private provision. She persisted: "If we don't pay more for our tickets, how can they buy new trains?" Silence.

She looked at him quite tenderly, with a glance that said it all. It said she could see the inconsistencies in his argument about that bomb, on TV? Weren't those "people?"

"No, I mean on our side. Only about ten have died."

"That's ten too many."

"That's ten too many," she said. "You don't want us to have anything to do with the war, do you, dad? But I want us to win."

"Nobody wins. I don't like killing."

"Somebody has to win. And you don't agree with Saddam, do you?"

"Of course not."

"Well."

That was all she said. Well. She saw no need to pursue the matter. It is exactly the way Mrs Thatcher used to say it. This little girl owed everything to her father, yet, philosophically, she had already flown the nest. She was on wings of her own. And she was only nine.

Simon Jenkins, editor of The Times, on the problems of reporting the war objectively

When the truth takes a direct hit

There is a point in most wars when public opinion, frustrated at the lack of swift victory, turns on its messengers. The worse the news, the more vehement the condemnation, as if attacking the media could substitute for a sudden loss of will. Thus it was last week when bombs fell on a building in Amiriya, with the death of many civilians. What happened? Was the event misreported? If not, should it have been reported at all?

After the Amiriya bombing, *The Times*, in common with most other media organisations, went to lengths to find out which was true, the Iraqi claim that the building was an air raid shelter, or the American claim that it was a command bunker. This meant risking reporters' safety, risking the credibility of allied spokesmen and risking readers' confidence.

The alternative preferred by many MPs in Britain and congressmen in America was not to try. The media should have decided that our side of the war should always be believed and the

Iraqis regarded as liars, for which there was plenty of circumstantial evidence. British newspapers did not have reporters in Berlin in the second world war. Why have them in Baghdad?

Set aside the fact that no newspaper would send a reporter to certain incarceration or death (as in Berlin during that war), modern limited wars are now conducted on two levels: fighting and politics, with its concomitant of publicity. In the Amiriya case, to have suppressed the Iraqi claim would have been fruitless. It would have been all over foreign broadcasts and newspapers, in the reports of visitors. If television companies felt bound at least to give Iraqi footage, with the appropriate caveats, the public would have demanded to know if the footage was true. Hundreds dead in a shelter went beyond the normal pabulum of propaganda.

Some news organisations, including some British newspapers, have taken the view that all journalists should be withdrawn, to avoid becoming tainted by the difficult task of validating counter-

claims. They have decided that no journalist can possibly work normally in Baghdad. A journalist requires two freedoms to do his or her job: freedom to move and see, and freedom to write what is seen. If both are curtailed, reporters are worse than propagandists; by their professional status they validate propaganda.

In carrying reports by two reliable correspondents in Baghdad, Richard Beeston and Marie Colvin (of *The Sunday Times*), *The Times* took a different view. We should try to give our readers the nearest we could get to the truth. The nearest war is a casualty to censorship. Few journalists see military action. If they do, they see only a microcosm of it. They are dependent on raw material that must come from one or other side and are plainly vulnerable to bias. Reporters who plead for an "uncensored" war are naive. War reporting does not start pure and become tainted by censorship. It starts censored and is an act of de-censoring. That de-censoring must take place at every stage in the journalistic process,

listening, writing and editing. "Reporting restrictions" have long surrounded news from the communist bloc and from much of Africa and Asia. Restrictions operate on journalists in Israel. Yet the media rarely mention these. After an initial burst of protest, they settle down either to working within the controls or to working round them. American journalists who sought to boycott South Africa in the mid-1980s were conceding professional defeat. They proposed no similar boycott on military news from Israel, or on "facility trips" from their own defence department.

In war as in peace, the task of a newspaper is simple: to make the best possible stab at the truth in the time available. No responsible newspaper gratuitously aids and abets an enemy of the state. No responsible newspaper offers its readers what it knows to be partial information from either side without the appropriate caveats. In the Gulf, censorship has been tighter from the Iraqis than from the allies, but only relatively so. Disinformation has come (in the

early days) from many military sources in Saudi Arabia, including news of defecting tanks and defeated Scuds.

The Times has sought, in carrying reports from journalists whose writing was overseen by a censor, to tell readers clearly of this fact. We carry such reports only where they convey information that we and the reporter regard as likely to be true. Readers can then judge whether they feel the content is blatantly partial and make the appropriate adjustment in reading.

The extreme view was well put during the Falklands war by an admiral: "Tell them nothing, when it's over, tell them who won." Were such draconian censorship feasible, the silence might just help the war effort, but I doubt it. I believe the public in a democracy are better able to support a war by feeling they have been properly informed of its course, victories, defeats, mistakes, wars and all. For rulers to shield their publics from the horror of war is certainly unwise. It is also immoral.

Bernard Levin believes Lincoln's bones and hair are not for experiment

Let's all raise Cain over Abe

When will a chimpanzee's head first be transplanted on to a human being's body, which would otherwise perish, to continue to live? The answer to this question is "Never", nor is it "Who would do such a thing?", nor is it "Not for many centuries", nor is it even "As soon as a Home Office committee, chaired by Dame Mary Warnock, has reported", and it is emphatically not "Such a thing would never be allowed".

The correct answer is as soon as the medico-scientific problems have been solved. The gigantic multiplication of science in the second half of the 20th century, which is not only still going on but is continuing to expand exponentially, has no parallel in history. With it, however, has come something that also has no precedent: it is the belief, now firmly embedded, that as far as science, and especially medical science, is concerned, anything that is possible to do may actually be done.

How many years ago was the first heart transplant? It was only 1967, yet only the tiniest handful of people (Malcolm Muggeridge was one) questioned not the technique but the very notion of such a proceeding. Any further questioning was classified as obscurantism, since to keep alive, at stupendous cost, a few people who would otherwise have died (though who did die or are certainly going to, just like those without heart transplants) must be wholly meritorious.

Move on less than a decade; transplant surgery - with animal as well as human spare parts - is a

roaring trade: so widespread that it cannot be long before super-markets have trays of kidneys and livers, to be weighed and bagged at the checkout and taken round to the nearest spare-parts surgeon, who will cheerfully transplant a pig's spleen into anyone with stomach-ache.

If you think I am going to absurd lengths, stop for a moment and contemplate what Parliament has sanctioned in the way of embryo research, and what your own parents, a mere generation ago, would have thought about such things, if they had not dismissed them as a grotesque joke.

Still not convinced? Then you missed my column in April last year which revealed that hospitals are now keeping dying patients with no hope of recovery on life-support machines, and picking a bit off them when an organ is needed for a transplant. ("It is not the sort of thing we go public on," said the president of the British Transplantation Society, "but I don't feel we should cover it up.")

I have written much about the Fallacy of the Altered Standpoint; all the above concerns what happens when the Fallacy is operating: broadly, that things which would not have been contemplated for a moment are accepted and even applauded in the new light thrown by the alteration.

Today I have to discuss what is perhaps the most singular instance of it I have ever encountered; it comes from America.

Some experts believe that Abraham Lincoln had a rare genetic condition called Marfan Syndrome, which leaves the patient with weaknesses in bones, joints and eyesight; in addition, Marfan



suffers tend to grow over-tall and gangling. Some historians also or alternatively claim that the great president suffered from chronic depression, as did Winston Churchill, and for that matter I. Well, Lincoln - assassinated, dead, buried and widely revered - is beyond anything but conjecture in the matter of his health. Or was beyond conjecture.

For death did not reckon with Mr Marc Micoczi, director of the National Museum of Health and Medicine in Washington, D.C. He has in his museum, it seems, a few bits and pieces of Lincoln to play about with, including some splinters of bone from Lincoln's head, smashed by Booth's bullet. Bits of these could be scraped off, while the strands of hair which are also to be found in the museum could be neatly tweezed by the White

House barber, and by using the techniques of DNA, the question of Lincoln's ill-health, if any, could be answered.

And I will bet you a transplanted pig's pancreas that from now until it happens, and thereafter, mine will be the only voice raised in condemnation of this business, despite - no, what am I saying, because of - Mr Micoczi's assurance that "There is a lot of potential social value to learning the answers to these questions."

There is, of course, no potential social value, or any other kind of value, in learning the answers to questions about what kind of health Lincoln enjoyed or suffered from. Not even Mr Micoczi has had the cheek to claim (perhaps I should say has yet had the cheek to claim) that if we discover that Lincoln had Marfan Syndrome, or

for that matter that he didn't, a cure for it will result. Nor can the biographers and historians of Lincoln and his time pretend that a great hole in history can at last be filled by discovering that Lincoln suffered from "the black dog" (or, as it may be, did not). What we have here is not the thirst for knowledge that might affect the future, nor the kind that may give redress to the past; it is the other face of the Fallacy of the Altered Standpoint, which is the claim that if something can be done it should be done, and if it should be done it must be done.

The vultures are gathering. A committee has been assembled, I know not by whom, nor do I know who is sitting on it. Its members, however, are to decide - again, I do not know on what principles - whether the project may go ahead. The very fact that such a discussion is taking place suggests that the immediate horror which seized me when I read about it can hardly be part of the committee's terms of reference.

Yet I think it should. No doubt Mr Micoczi will feel aggrieved; after all, he does not propose to dig up Lincoln and chop bits off the corpse (though if the museum's fragments are insufficient, certainly, Lincoln no longer needs the fragments of his murdered body. But by the same token, the world does not need, at the price of meddling with the remains of a dead hero, to know whether the Great Emancipator ganged because he had Marfan Syndrome or because he just liked gangling.

Yes, Lincoln has been dead for much more than a century, and some may ask whether it matters if scientists think they can clone the great man and thus discover whether he had chills in cold weather. It does matter, because the enterprise is another proof that science has, in not much more than 50 years, thrown away the profound reverence for its work, the reverence that once guided it safely through all temptations.

I began by asking when a chimpanzee's head would be transplanted to a human body. I do not know; but I do know that when it becomes possible, the doctors will solemnly and scientifically debate whether the chimpanzee should be smiling or frowning.

Double first for women?

John Major, still sensitive to the fact that there are no women in the cabinet, is considering a double propaganda coup: the first Tory woman chief whip in the House of Lords and the first Asian woman on the front bench.

Lord Waddington, the new leader of the House of Lords, is pressing for Lady Blatch, a junior environment minister, to succeed Lord Denham as chief whip when he retires later this year, possibly at Easter. This would enable Major to promote Shirela Flather, whom Mrs Thatcher made a life peer last year, into the environment job.

Indian-born Lady Flather, who trained as a lawyer before becoming an inner London infants' teacher, has pioneered the way for Asian women. In 1976 she became Britain's first ethnic minority woman councillor, in Windsor and Maidenhead, and in 1986 the first Asian woman mayor. In addition, she has served on any number of official bodies, including the Commission for Racial Equality.

Making Lady Blatch chief whip in the Lords would still leave the cabinet all-male but would go a long way towards silencing feminist critics. Their lordships, however, might not be so pleased. The male-dominated front bench did not take kindly to Lady Blatch's appointment to the environment job in 1987, but was won over by her competence at the dispatch box. While having come to accept women ministers, however, a number of hereditary peers are likely to revolt at the idea of a woman occupying one of the most powerful positions in the upper house.

They want the job to go to Lord Heseltine, now a minister at the Department of Trade and Industry. But Heseltine is not keen: he has a young family, and does not



relish putting in the hours the position demands.

Lady Blatch, a former leader of Cambridgeshire county council, would jump at the chance. Her opponents argue that by convention if the leader of the House is a life peer, the chief whip should be a hereditary member. Such an argument is unlikely to cut much ice with a prime minister intent on creating a classless society.

Canvassing help

Sylvia Pankhurst, heroine of the suffragette movement, could have enjoyed equal fame as a painter, according to feminists who are trying to trace some of her missing canvases.

"It is not widely known that before taking up the suffragette cause she was a professional artist, since only 20 of her paintings are believed to have survived," says Jacqueline Mulholland, organiser of the search and author of a play about Pankhurst entitled *Sylvia*. She is particularly keen to trace a series of seven pictures of women at work in the mills and factories of northern England, painted in 1907 - Pankhurst's last before devoting herself full-time to the movement.

Mulholland has made slides of the seven paintings, from reproductions in a magazine published in 1908, and has been showing them at performances of *Sylvia*. Mulholland believes these and many more Pankhurst pictures

exist in private collections or are gathering dust in attics. "After art school Sylvia Pankhurst spent a year in Venice, where she painted every day, followed by a six-month tour of the North. Considering how hard she worked, there must be many more pictures."

Turning poacher

Wonders will never cease. The former Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov, who for 35 years was one of Eastern Europe's harshest dictators, has written to Amnesty International asking for help. He wants an observer in court when he goes on trial shortly on charges of corruption, embezzlement and abuse of power.

"We are considering his request," says Amnesty, though whether it will be granted is in doubt. "Over the years, there have been consistent complaints about Bulgaria, especially for the imprisonment and banishment of ethnic Turks." The last such request was in the late 1960s when a plea for help was received from a colleague of one of the Greek colonels.

Bane in Spain

The multi-million pound steel and glass pavilion being constructed to house the British display at Expo '92 in Seville had been giving Luke Ritner, the cultural director, a difficult time. When he first surveyed the huge marbled auditorium he was appalled. "It had a stage the size of a football pitch but no wings, no flies and nowhere for people to go when they went off."

Ritner, former Arts Council secretary-general, hopes to mount productions by the Royal Ballet and the London Symphony Orchestra as part of Britain's £28 million contribution. He returned to London convinced that the venue was suitable only for rock

concerts, but on a return trip this month all had changed.

"It was dramatic," he says. "They had built a new wooden stage. There will be a proscenium arch, better dressing rooms and a proper lighting rig."

The pavilion, which will be as large as Harrods, was originally sanctioned by Mrs Thatcher, who said it would be "by far the best showcase for Britain's resurgence and leadership."

● The discovery of a KGB miniature spy camera in a gold ring to be sold at Christie's has intrigued the world of cloak and dagger. Why was so expensive a piece of jewellery used in the Soviet espionage effort? Christie's photographic adviser, William White, has the answer: "It was developed after office smoking bans. Spy cameras were usually hidden in lighters or cigarette packets, but these suddenly became impractical."

National theatre

A Welsh national theatre company, one of Richard Burton's most cherished projects before he died in 1984, is about to come into being with the establishment of the Plays from Wales Theatre Company by playwright Dedwydd Jones.

"Our aim is to establish a Welsh presence in British theatre," he says. "Welsh National Opera is well established, but there is nothing comparable for Welsh actors." The idea was first floated in the 1950s but floundered because of differences among Welsh actors, says Jones.

His company, backed by such luminaries as Keith Baxter, Kenneth Griffiths and Windsor Davies, will give its first performance in March at the King's College New Theatre - in London. "We have to start in London," says Jones. "The Welsh Arts Council is a hide-bound bureaucracy full of dinosaurs."



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

NO CONDITIONS

A land invasion of Kuwait is now imminent and the only news that should stop it is of an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal. Withdrawal, within the terms of United Nations resolutions, means precisely what it says. The correct procedure would be to order Iraqi troops on the ground to return home, coupled with agreements for independent monitoring and the return of the former government of Kuwait. Nothing could be simpler. It could be done immediately.

If President Saddam Hussein hoped to forestall plans for a land invasion by his "conditional" acceptance on Friday of the United Nations Security Council resolution 660, he has failed. The only question that need tax George Bush in authorising his troops to commence the invasion is whether, by granting Mikhail Gorbachev's request for a brief delay, he might save the lives of large numbers of allied troops. If he feels there is any hope of a peace formula emerging from Moscow's busy diplomacy, then he would be consistent in giving it a chance. That solicitude for potential casualties offers some tenuous justification for clarifying, with Iraq's foreign minister Tariq Aziz, the extent of the conditionality attached to Friday's statement from Baghdad.

Soviet co-operation should not be lightly set aside. The new world order to which the war was to contribute was, in large part, the result of Mr Gorbachev's eagerness to be seen as a responsible player in the Middle East and at the UN. This was an immense gain to the allies, and to the cause of world peace.

There was some initial doubt about Moscow's scepticism on Friday. But by later referring to the Iraqi statement as "meaningless", Soviet spokesmen acknowledged that it was logically contradictory. One cannot admit defeat with a shopping list of

hopelessly unrealistic demands. Since then there have been hints from Iraq that the statement has been misunderstood. This has been enough to sow doubt in the minds both of Moscow and of some Arab states.

It is safe to assume that the misunderstanding is not merely semantic or arising from translation, for the Gulf Co-operation Council, which works in Arabic, saw the same objections to the statement as everybody else. Reading Iraqi intentions has never been more difficult, but at least one possible game plan for Saddam is for him to try to save some pride by first talking of conditions (knowing the inevitable reaction), then later insisting that the shopping list is no more than a statement of his personal hopes and desires.

The allies have, as yet, no clue from any statement out of Baghdad to indicate whether or not Saddam yet accepts that he is beaten. If so, some graceless face-saving manoeuvring could make sense. If not, he is merely up to the trick he has played before, with cunning but with scant success: trying to split the alliance, playing the Palestinian card, fortifying the peace-at-any-price lobby in Western democracies, and blustering. Either way, he is playing it with greater desperation. The reaction on the streets of Baghdad to Friday's announcement, which was apparently of spontaneous joy, suggests that his nation has no stomach for more war.

The way forward must thus be kept clear of fog. Mr Aziz in Moscow can be allowed his brief moment of clarification. Mr Gorbachev can be allowed his last bid for diplomatic glory by making Saddam see sense. But the obscenity of the invasion of Kuwait has now gone on for seven months. Unconditional withdrawal means what it says. Moscow has hours, not days, to conjure peace out of war.

TIME FOR SPORT

The Gleneagles agreement against sporting links with South Africa exists in little more than name after the meeting of the committee of Commonwealth foreign ministers in London at the weekend. Each country, the committee advised, should be free to restore sporting links as and when it thinks fit. The agreement can technically only be ended by the body which made it, the assembly of Commonwealth heads of government, which is not due to meet again (in Zimbabwe) until October. But given the lead-time in fitting sporting fixtures into national sports calendars, which are often completed years ahead, each sporting body should now proceed as though Gleneagles were already dead.

The dismantling of apartheid will present a series of similar challenges to the good sense of Commonwealth governments, as one by one the various forms of sanction against South Africa are reviewed. The weekend's recommendation on the rapid phasing out of formal sports sanctions passes the test, but in advising the retention for the time being of trade and financial sanctions the committee of foreign ministers has made the mistake of allowing its policy to be dictated by the African National Congress — and generated a suspicion that it lacks the internal cohesion to decide on the one issue which has so long held the Commonwealth together.

The Gleneagles agreement deserves a qualified eulogy. Sport lies at the heart of white morale in South Africa, English-speaking and Afrikaner, and any policy aimed at undermining that morale had some tactical validity. Sport has its own ethos of fair play: all men are equal before the stopwatch. Apartheid specifically denied that axiom.

The boycott brought home to a sports-loving nation that racial segregation in sport — symbolic of racial segregation in that society generally — was so offensive to civilised values that it was an insurmount-

able barrier to normal relations. Gleneagles therefore made a modest contribution both to the ending of apartheid and to maintaining the integrity of world sport, in which there should be no room for racism, whether in South Africa or elsewhere.

But as soon as it became plain that attempts to integrate sport would never by themselves lead to readmission to world competition, the "bite" of the embargo was lost. The sanction became more a political gesture, and it made the outside world look hypocritical in wishing for black sporting advancement. In those sports which are now clearly racially integrated, such as association football, cricket, boxing and athletics, South Africans should be welcomed into international competition forthwith.

For so long has the Commonwealth's internal politics been dominated by South African sanctions that the body has come to be regarded, and has almost regarded itself, as a single-issue organisation. The ending of apartheid, which was never really the Commonwealth's business after the departure of South Africa, leaves its agenda somewhat denuded. The temptation before the Harare meeting in October will be to prolong the sanctions quarrel for want of anything better to do. The emphasis should now switch to the Commonwealth's post-apartheid future, to the construction of programmes which will begin to make good some of the Commonwealth's "spirit of co-operation", too often an empty phrase.

A long-overdue debate on the future of the institution is imminent, based on a report by ten distinguished international figures on ways in which the Commonwealth can live up to its ideals. Those ideals — parliamentary democracy, the shared inheritance of English language and literature, the rule of law — nowadays look distinctly sick in some Commonwealth countries. The Commonwealth can at last stop putting other people's houses in order and look to its own affairs.

SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIOLOGISTS

Sociology has offered novelists, satirists and conspiracy theorists rich material for the last 40 years, ever since a letter to *The Times* announced the founding of the British Sociological Association in 1951. New sociology departments were among the chief beneficiaries of the great expansion of British universities which Lord Robbins began in the 1960s. A new discipline was heralded, to hold the hand of socialism in its Wilsonian dawn.

This week's celebrations have raised a few eyebrows from those cynics who were never convinced that sociology was a proper subject. But the object of their distrust should never have been sociology. Like many an intellectual pursuit, the fault lay not in the practice but in the enthusiasm, and arrogance, of the practitioners.

Society, community and class have long been studied under other academic rubrics. Montesquieu, Vico and Herder continued the comparative sociology begun by Aristotle. In England the tradition of political philosophy from Hobbes to Locke was paralleled by social thinkers of a more empirical bent, such as Sir William Petty. David Hume and Adam Smith had an eye to far more than economics.

The word "sociology" gained currency only in the second half of the 19th century, thanks to Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. Marx never called his work by that name, and his immediate disciples viewed the new discipline as a bourgeois pseudo-science. Durkheim set up the first French chair of sociology in 1913 at the Sorbonne; but French social theory drew its chief inspiration from Germany, which meant first and foremost from philosophy. Even the greatest of all systematic sociologists,

Max Weber, was trained in economics and law rather than sociology itself.

After 1933 German sociologists either made their peace with the Nazis or went into exile. Among these émigrés, Weber's pupil Karl Mannheim came to the London School of Economics. Sociology in this country owes its political radicalism to this German-speaking Hungarian, but Mannheim was no Marxist. Only after his death in 1947, did his disciples spread his faith into the world of political science, educating a generation of supposedly omniscient social planners. Mannheim's critics at the post-war LSE, Karl Popper and Friedrich von Hayek, were only taken seriously by British sociologists much later.

The warmed-up Marxism which took hold during the 1960s was not so much a failing of sociology as a symptom of intellectual laziness and insecurity. It is now all but dead. British academic sociologists have failed to match the erudition and theoretical compass of the German-speaking exiles. A rare exception is W.G. Runciman, whose recent *Treatise on Social Theory* owes much to Weber but little to Marx.

Insofar as it ever offered a template for social engineering in Britain, sociology failed. As a tool of analysis, the study of social geography, or tribe and class, British sociology has hardly begun to achieve its potential. No doubt some sociology departments are mediocre and riddled with social engineers. But reform not ridicule is the way to restore rigour to this branch of knowledge. The education secretary, Kenneth Clarke, should ask Lord Runciman to conduct an enquiry into the state of sociology in British universities and polytechnics. It would be a good piece of sociology.

Reports of Iraqi air-raid casualties

From His Honour Alan King-Hamilton, QC

Sir, Does the suggestion that US forces deliberately bombed a building which they knew was an air-raid shelter and, therefore, probably full of civilians bear serious consideration?

I submit that to have done so would have been futile and stupid: on the one hand to run the risk of losing an aircraft and crew for no conceivable military advantage; on the other to incur a great loss of esteem in the eyes of their allies and moral support in United Nations.

Such precise targeting would only have been used on worthwhile military targets. Mistakes are made in wars and as the last war proved the killing of civilians in air-raids only served to stiffen resistance.

In Kuwait there were no mistakes — Iraq's killing of civilians was deliberate.

Yours faithfully,
ALAN KING-HAMILTON,
Royal Air Force Club,
128 Piccadilly, W1.

From Mr Roland Mann

Sir, Even the blank cheque endorsement of military action that President Bush and Secretary Baker succeeded in wringing out of the UN Security Council specified "all necessary measures" to achieve the liberation of Kuwait.

No one could conceivably justify as necessary to that end the massive destruction of Iraq's infrastructure and the "collateral" slaughter of innocent civilians by unopposed fleets of bombers operating around the clock. A so-called air war that brings us the raid on the Baghdad shelter mocks the morality of the Western enterprise and dishonours the cause for which, it seems, our ground forces will soon be asked to shed their blood.

Faithfully yours,
ROLAND MANN,
15 York Close,
Kings Langley, Hertfordshire.
February 15.

From Mr Winston S. Churchill

Sir, Have the chairman and senior executives of BBC and ITV no sense of shame or twinges of conscience at the fact that while our young men are risking — indeed sacrificing — their lives in the cause of freedom and of upholding the rule of law, they are acting as the vehicle for enemy propaganda?

Would they, for example, have accepted restrictions on reporting from South Africa which allowed them solely to report white victims of ANC terrorism, while being prevented from showing killings and suffering inflicted on the black population by the South African police? Of course not, for they would rightly conclude that by submitting to such a one-sided charade they would utterly compromise their journalistic integrity.

Yet is that not precisely the situation accepted by the Western media in Iraq? They allow themselves to be led by the nose by their Baghdad "ministers" to the scene of the "Allied horror-story" of the day.

NUJ decision to oppose the war

From Mr Seumas Milne

Sir, Your leading article (February 13) about the National Union of Journalists accuses me of slandering the work of serious journalists because I said that there was a widespread feeling among NUJ members that the Gulf war is corrupting our profession.

That is a ridiculous charge. It is precisely because we seek to defend serious journalism that the NUJ is campaigning against media censorship and self-censorship in this conflict. The pressures on journalists to play the military's game are making it increasingly difficult to maintain reporting standards of balance, scepticism and objectivity. This is not, as you imply, simply a concern of the left. *Time* magazine's Washington bureau chief, Stanley Cloud, for example, is quoted in the *International Herald Tribune* of February 12 as attacking the "intolerable effort by the government to manipulate the news". I would have hoped to see *The Times* fighting that corner as well.

The NUJ executive's decision, along with seven other trade unions, to support the campaign against the war reflects these anxieties, as well as the moral and political arguments about the conflict itself. There is nothing "lunatic" about a union taking a collective view on such an

important issue. And the professional integrity of journalists is no more undermined by the NUJ taking a stance than by the pro-war editorial view of newspapers like *The Times*.

Yours sincerely,
SEUMAS MILNE (NEC member),
National Union of Journalists,
Acorn House,
314-320 Gray's Inn Road, WC1.
February 14.

From Mr Steve Rogerson

Sir, As a member of the NUJ who is opposed to the Gulf war, I found myself in almost complete disagreement with your leading article of February 13. I would say that the NUJ executive's decision to make a stand against the war is rare only in that it is a decision that does have grassroots support among the membership.

Why else would more than 800 people pack a meeting two weeks ago for the launch of the Media Workers Against the War campaign? I have been an activist in the union for many years and I struggle to remember any other campaign that has attracted such support from the outset.

Yours faithfully,
S. ROGERSON,
33A St Martins Road, SW9,
February 13.

Meanwhile, as they report from Baghdad precisely what the Iraqi propaganda machine wants them to, the Western news media, to their undying shame, accept — on the *diktat* of Saddam Hussein — not to report the far greater civilian casualties and suffering inflicted deliberately and in cold blood on the hapless citizens of Kuwait by the Iraqi occupying forces.

Do the senior management of the BBC and ITV imagine that Lord Reith would have countenanced the BBC being used as a tool of Goebbels's propaganda machine? Journalistic integrity requires that they withdraw their camera-crews from Baghdad forthwith. But if the broadcasters are beyond shame, is it not time that they, at least, place a permanent "health warning" on all reports from Iraq to the effect that:

"This report has been prepared under the supervision and guidance of Iraqi propaganda. Meanwhile, we have agreed not to bring you any reports of the greater loss of life inflicted on the civilian population of Kuwait by the Iraqi occupying forces".

I have the honour to remain etc.,
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL,
House of Commons,
February 16.

From Mr Nicholas A. H. Stacey

Sir, The progress of war against Iraq by the "open societies" has become more open to scrutiny, briefings are more continuous and comments more diverse. All this is to the good, but listening to the accounts of some correspondents or newscasters, I get the feeling occasionally that the reports extend well beyond the fortunes of war to a display of anguished consciences by some of the laureates of the media.

Expectations of perfectibility of their own, Western side would appear sometimes to have derailed their comments; they seek and magnify the weak spots, the mistakes, the accidents and the misfortunes of the Allies.

There is a political overhang in such reports expressing, however obliquely, a displeasure at the ways the war is being pursued by the Allies, implying tacitly that Iraq is a victim. This process has been clearly demonstrated this week by the reporting of the bombing of the bunker/air-raid shelter in Baghdad.

Iraq certainly is a victim, but of Saddam Hussein's totalitarianism, terrorism, fanaticism and political adventurism leading his country to war against Iran, then Kuwait and now against the Allies.

Many of us yearn for more hard news and for less comment. Most viewers and listeners are not in need of social, political, psychological, or any other alibi-type explanations by the pundits. What has happened to the regular, matter of fact, straight-reporting war correspondents? Why do we have to suffer concealed opinions laced with political or social innuendoes? I suspect I am not alone in hoping just to hear "the news".

Yours truly,
NICHOLAS STACEY,
Reform Club, Pall Mall, SW1.

Yours sincerely,
SEUMAS MILNE (NEC member),
National Union of Journalists,
Acorn House,
314-320 Gray's Inn Road, WC1.
February 14.

Defence of bailiffs

From Mr A. A. Johnson

Sir, The Law Commission's proposals (report, February 6) to abolish the use of certificated bailiffs to recover rent arrears show too little concern for the rights of the creditor.

Certification of bailiffs by the county courts was intended in the first place to prevent the courts from being cluttered by actions for unpaid rents, the costs of which only added to the debt, and to give landlords a speedy method of recovering their arrears.

If the Law Commission's proposals are enacted landlords will have to apply to the courts for a judgment before, presumably, asking the courts to send in their own bailiffs. The result will be the same, but at much greater cost and trouble.

Judging by the number of telephone calls received by my office from disgruntled judgment creditors unable to get their warrants executed by county court bailiffs, this will not prove to be a very popular

Public confidence in judicial system

From Mr Steve Haywood

Sir, Lord Justice Taylor put the judicial cart before the public horse when he complained, at a recent High Court Journalists Association dinner, that press criticism of judges was reducing "public respect for the law and the judiciary". The mistake Bernard Levin makes ("In contempt, and with reason", February 7) is in leaving this unchallenged.

In fact the reverse is true. As far as miscarriages of justice are concerned, there exists a growing disquiet about the processes of the judicial system, which frequently materialises in criticism of individual judges whose job it is to rectify its mistakes.

Of course, there are senior judges "encrusted with 40-year-old ideas", but even the best of the breed are labouring under the constraints of an adversarial system that, while it may dispense law, is proving itself increasingly incapable of delivering justice.

This adversarial system may be an impeccably efficient method of examining the single proposition of whether X did or did not commit a certain crime. But in re-investigating cases from this office we find time and time again that it fails too often in getting close to any sort of truth surrounding that crime.

Blaming the judges for the system is like blaming the sticking plaster for the wound.

Yours faithfully,

STEVE HAYWOOD
(Producer, *Rough Justice*),
BBC Television,
Kensington House,
Richmond Way, W14.
February 8.

From Sir John Stephenson

Sir, Joining the popular sport of knocking the judges, Mr Bernard Levin urges his readers to "read the judgment of Lord Lane in the 1988 (unsuccessful) Birmingham Six appeal", in the belief that they will share his pity for "an honourable, decent, old man" floundering out of his depth.

Those who have the advantage of knowing Lord Lane, Sir Stephen Brown and Sir Patrick O'Connor, and who take the trouble to read, with care and without prejudice, the transcript of the judgment of those three judges, which runs to more than 100 pages of foolscap (report, January 29, 1988), may find it impossible to dismiss their judgment so contemptuously.

Those with some experience of the manner in which most judges do their difficult job may think that the arrogance and ignorance attributed to the judges by Mr Levin are more conspicuously exhibited by those who attack them.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
JOHN STEPHENSON,
26 Donerale Street, SW6,
February 8.

From Sir Michael Davies

Sir, Bernard Levin has been "whining", to adopt his words, about judges for more than 30 years. He never learns, as his article today clearly demonstrates.

I leave to others the evaluation of his criticisms of the judgments and remarks of the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Justice Taylor and Lord Justice Russell. But as to their alleged "unworldliness" I can assure

Limited tax relief

From Mr Peter Roberts

Sir, The new tax relief on interest paid by building societies, etc., due to come into force on April 6, 1991, is only applicable to old age pensioners with a total income of less than £3,670 per annum.

How in Britain could a person with an income as low as this afford to save with a building society, let alone pay their heating bills in an effort to keep warm?

Yours faithfully,

PETER ROBERTS,
75/77 Talbot Road,
Bayswater, W2.

Sales distinction

From Mr Nicholas Frame

Sir, In reply to Miss Harries's letter (February 9), when a car boot sale is conducted indoors, and is not a jumble sale, it is referred to as a table-top sale.

Yours faithfully,

NICHOLAS FRAME,
34 Bradley Road,
Bradley,
Grimby, Humberside.

or successful way of recovering rents. Without the work of certificated bailiffs there would be uncontrollable arrears of commercial rents, local government rates, community charges, VAT and income tax, because the authorities responsible for collecting these revenues all rely on bailiffs as a last resort.

It is not the creditors who are complaining to the Law Commission or the National Consumer Council, but the debtors, who undoubtedly find that bailiffs are far too successful at their job.

Yours sincerely,
A. A. JOHNSON (Principal),
A. A. Johnson & Associates,
169 London Road,
Leicester.
February 7.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — (071 782 5046).

your readers from lengthy personal knowledge that they are all extremely down-to-earth men.

All were brought up in provincial towns in "ordinary" families. Two were at grammar schools. As barristers, all practised almost exclusively on their circuits and appeared for — and talked at length with — hundreds of clients of all types and classes in criminal and civil and other cases.

So they mixed daily with the public at a time when Mr Levin, in the course of his work as a dramatic critic, was cushioned in his theatre stall watching make-believe. As judges they constantly see real life (including both truthful and lying police officers) in all its aspects. How much "reality" does Mr Levin see these days?

I know that it is a great disappointment to journalists — living in the past of old newspaper cuttings — that judges today are no longer remote figures. Mr Levin and his cronies try to deny that fact. Even the drawing accompanying his article shows a judge in a full-bottomed wig — not worn by judges at work for several centuries.

Let Mr Levin or anyone else think that I resent his repeated references (including the present article) to my little joke about my motor car, let me say that I don't: lots of people of all kinds have told me how much they enjoyed it.

I must add that before January 11 last, when I took voluntary redundancy as a judge, by convention I could not have commented on Mr Levin's article. The three senior judges — as I am sure Mr Levin well knows — are still in that situation. Hence this letter — written, of course, without their knowledge or any consultation with them.

Yours truly,
MICHAEL DAVIES,
Lincoln's Inn, WC2,
February 7.

From the Hon Mr Justice Roulger

Sir, What a pity that Mr Levin and I cannot change places for a while. I fear your readers would have to make do with a far less gifted and stimulating columnist, but I would be in a far better position to appreciate the full extent of the balanced objectivity of those who write for the press, hitherto unsuspected.

He, for his part, would soon find himself dismayed by the continual misreporting of any proceedings in his court which were of topical interest. Crucial facts will be omitted from the report. Special circumstances which called for unusual treatment will be ignored, leaving only an apparently peculiar decision for the public to contemplate.

He would also find that insulting comments from those whose only knowledge of the matter stemmed from these distorted accounts will be given far greater coverage than his painstaking and doubtless well-expressed reasoning.

From the same untrustworthy basis may even come calls for his dismissal. After a while he might begin to wonder whether there really was any object behind it all other than a desire to make mischief.

Both of us would have had a valuable lesson.

Yours sincerely,
RICHARD ROUGIER,
Royal Courts of Justice,
Strand, WC2,
February 7.

Clergy freehold

From Mr Lawrence Biddle

Sir, Before the Church of England takes steps to abolish the freehold tenure of their clergy they should consider adopting a more realistic system for appointing clergy as vacancies occur.

In this parish it is ten months since the vicar gave notice of his intention to resign and it will be another three before a new vicar is instituted. This is a delay which no commercial organisation would accept.

This parish is a member of a group of eight parishes which in the past 20 years has managed to reduce the number of clergy in the group from nine to five. We feel we have played our part in meeting the shortage of clergy in the Church and can ill afford a long vacancy.

Yours faithfully,
LAWRENCE BIDDLE,
The Woods, Leigh,
Tonbridge, Kent.
February 8.

Wrong again

From Mr Robin Beare

Sir, I am reminded by the comments from British Rail, about the structure of the snow which they must deal (report, February 12), of an episode which occurred in August 1939.

War was imminent; and the Weybridge Fire Brigade staged a public demonstration of the correct method of dealing with a German incendiary bomb — sand, shovels, stumps pumps, etc.

The firemen and their spectators were surprised to see each demonstration end in failure, as the incendiary device simply melted its way through the shovel and remained burning on the ground.

A complaint was made to the fire brigade that they were "using the wrong type of bomb" and that there was nothing wrong with their shovels!

Yours faithfully,
ROBIN BEARE,
Scrags Farm, Cowden,
Edenbridge, Kent.
February 12.

Psychopath in the playroom

Child abuse arouses strong emotions but is it a fitting subject for the crime writer?

Frances Hegarty defends her latest novel

Crime fiction is safe fantasy about nasty things. But how nasty? Theft? Fine. Murder? Of course. Rape? Maybe. But what if a crime writer decides to jump genre and write about child abuse?

Frances Hegarty is a 42-year-old London lawyer who works part-time for the Crown Prosecution Service. The rest of the time she has written her way, under the pen-name of Frances Fyfield, into the closed ranks of crime queens. P.D. James and Ruth Rendell have embraced her as one of the crowned.

But her fourth book is not a crime thriller. Symbolically she has used her real name to signal the leap out of genre. But she has kept so far that she has alarmed her friends and associates. One well known British woman novelist has refused to review the book because of the subject matter.

The timing makes the shock of the subject more acute. Last week Christine Mason and Roy Aston were freed by the Court of Appeal because the law could not establish which was responsible for the death of their child.

The *Playroom* is about the systematic and savage cruelty of a wealthy middle-class father to his four-year-old daughter. Miss Hegarty sees child abuse as a classless crime, so she avoided setting her story in a run-down council estate. The first five pages — a detailed description of the state of the child-victim locked starving in a filthy room somewhere in west London — are almost unendurable.

"You don't get the cumulative effect of a book when you're writing," Miss Hegarty says. "But then when friends and editors started to react in this way I was shocked at first and obviously worried. But I'm not going to say I regret writing this. I don't. Once you have written a book it's a sort of catharsis. You then have to deliver it to the world."

Perhaps the impact is made worse by the quality of Miss Hegarty's writing. Reading it makes you feel like an accessory. Rather than turning the pages, you want to rush back and break down the door of the locked room.

Miss Hegarty is childless and says this may have helped her to tackle the subject: "I think this is the sort of book that would have

been excruciatingly difficult for a mother to write and probably for a mother to read."

Although she is divorced, she is not a man-hater. "It was nothing to do with the person. It's just that I couldn't stand the proximity. I started to feel like you do in a lift." But she describes herself as a woman's woman. Significantly the central character of her book, the wife of the psychopath, is a

'You don't get the cumulative effect when you're writing. When friends started to react in this way I was shocked'

man's woman — she cannot be consoled by her own sex.

She says she has not raided her professional life for her books, but it has brought her in contact with three psychopaths: a woman who hired an assassin to kill a rival, a 14-year-old child who helped bury her own mother after she had been murdered, and a man who had raped and battered to death

an 80-year-old woman. "These people are frightening to be in court with. You have a feeling from them they have a power over you because with them there is no leverage. A psychopath — or let's substitute a wicked — person is the one who has no Achilles heel at all."

Writing clearly started out as therapy, as a way of dealing with the black-and-white judgments of the legal system, but it has taken over her life. She is now more of a writer than a lawyer.

Perhaps the justification for *The Playroom* lies finally in the intensity of Miss Hegarty's engagement with the evil she sees in the taut ritual of the courtroom.

"You can feel the hatred that exists. And you know it's hatred not tempered by the slightest of understanding. There is some awful self-congratulation about that hatred, too. It's as if people are saying: 'However bad I am, however many affairs I've had, however much harm I've done to people, I'm not as bad as that person.'"

"We need blame for comfort. Perhaps we should try and analyse more. What happens? You get the culprit. You punish the culprit. And you do nothing to stop it happening again apart from the perfectly brutal behaviour of taking the child away. And that's supposed to stop it, but of course it doesn't."

CHRISTENA APPLEYARD
● *The Playroom*, by Frances Hegarty, is published next month by Hamish Hamilton (£13.99).



No regret: Frances Hegarty

The capital's new bishop will inherit a diocese beset by low morale and conflict, Ruth Gledhill reports

MIKE POWELL



Sent of power: the Right Rev Graham Leonard, the outgoing Bishop of London, compares running the diocese to grappling with a "lubricated jellyfish"

Saving the soul of London

'The bishop has to hold the church together. His personal qualities are more important than his churchmanship'

There is a story doing the rounds of the London diocese of the Church of England. An elderly man who wished to buy a gold cross approached a West End jeweller. The young counter girl said: "We've got lots. Do you want one with a little man on it or not?"

The problem of secularisation is just one of the many issues that will face London's new bishop, who has already been chosen and whose name will be announced shortly. The bishop, third in seniority in the church after the Archbishop of York and Canterbury, will take over a see beset by low morale, deep conflicts over faith and doctrine and a fierce debate over homosexuality.

Underlying everything is the issue of the ordination of women, which has focused people's worries about the future. The liberal trend in theology, the authority of the priesthood and the differing strands of Anglicanism which so far have held together, are all placed under great strain by this one issue.

The tension has been more apparent in the capital than elsewhere because of the strong, vocal opposition to women

priests, which has been led by the outgoing Bishop of London, the Right Rev Graham Leonard.

The London diocese is divided into four areas, Stepney, Edmonton, Willesden and Kensington — each with its own area bishop — and 416 parishes. Some 40 per cent of the diocese are Anglo-Catholics, concentrated in Kensington and Edmonton, and they have had a noticeable influence for more than a decade. Some clergy frequently use the Roman rite, even though its use in Anglican churches is not authorised, and one church advertises a Latin mass in newspapers. Even so, a fifth of the parishes are thriving evangelical churches, and there is a strong liberal tradition which mainstream churchgoers are keen to preserve.

Choosing the new bishop for London was one of the most difficult tasks the Crown Appointments Commission has faced, which could be why the two names submitted to the prime minister were, unusually, given in no order

of preference. Commission members are not allowed to discuss the proceedings. But Peter Dixon, a lay member, said that there was a "dearth of good bishops" who would be up to the job.

The vacancy-in-see committee of the diocese required someone with faith, vision and a strategy to deal with the key London issues, such as homelessness, education and housing. And, in response to what has become known as the "Durham factor", the diocese demanded a man who is able unequivocally to affirm his belief in the virgin birth and the bodily resurrection as described in the Gospels.

Figures due to be published next month by Marc Europe, a research organisation, are expected to show a spectacular growth in charismatic, evangelical worship outside

the established church in London over the past decade, compared to a dramatic fall in worship in the Church of England.

One commission member said the voice of the established church in London was out of proportion to its representation. Nearly three times more Roman Catholics than Anglicans go to church in London. In response to this, Anglican bishops argue that quality of worship is as important as quantity.

While committed and enthusiastic clergy in the diocese are fighting back, morale is low in many areas. Whichever way the church goes on the ordination of women, half London's clergy will be seriously upset. And the church has yet to determine its attitude to homosexuality.

Dr Leonard has frequently compared running the diocese to grappling with a "lubricated jellyfish", but he feels the level of electoral rolls is now "more realistic", while the number of communicants is holding steady.

"This is an extraordinary diocese. It is the biggest in the Anglican communion. The most important thing the bishop must do is work very closely with the area bishops so that unity of the diocese is maintained."

According to Lord Runcie, the retired Archbishop of Canterbury, when Dr Leonard first arrived in London he reportedly relegated a portrait of Henry VIII in the conference room to the bottom of the back stairs.

The spiritual renewal that Dr Leonard detects is visible throughout the diocese. Father Reg Duguid, a Barbados-born bus driver and former church warden, took early retirement from London Transport three years ago to become ordained. He is now a non-stipendiary priest at All Saints in Notting Hill. As an Anglo-Catholic who uses the Roman rite and a man who has experienced racial prejudice, he could be said to represent the new face of clergy determined to push back the tide of secularism. "The new bishop has got to be able to hold the church together," he says. "His personal qualities are more important than his churchmanship."

Coe-lin the Victorious

WHEN General Colin Powell first stepped in front of the world's cameras, people like me thought it was going to be quite a triumph for our small and — let's face it — not over-decorated band of heroes.

I am talking about Colins — those who, like myself, share the same Christian name as the general. Urbane, intelligent, articulate, he was just the man to impart a little lustre to our image.

What happens? He is introduced to the world as "Coe-lin". I realise this is merely a frivolous footnote to a momentous chapter of history in the making, but even so... Coe-lin? What on earth is the general playing at?

This, after all, was our chance of glory. Colins, by and large, are a little light on glory. It is not a name that rings with power or even slips sweetly off lovers' lips. Painful though it is for me to say this, the name suggests to me the sort of chap who wears an anorak, collects train numbers and quite possibly has spectacles which are secured at the corner by a piece of sticking plaster, slightly soiled.

History is not exactly crowded with successful Colins. Where is King Col, or Colin the Great, or even Colin the Terrible? Even if I could find one who ever made it to the top, he would almost certainly be called Colin the Rather Dull.

Contemporary Colins are often sportsmen. There's Cowdrey, the former cricketer, and Moynihan, the former sports minister. From the world of literature, the best we can do is Dexter, the author of those excellent Inspector Morse novels, and Welland, the actor-playwright. Now we have that mysterious Mr Gibbins who gave a new twist to the old Newcastle coals story by, it is said, sending

General Powell has brought a touch of glamour and glory to a rather dull name



General Powell: the right man roubles to Russia. I am not certain this is the image that we Colins wish to advance.

When you look at the derivation, you can see why Colins has never become fashionable. The *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Names* says it first surfaced as an English name about the year 1200 as an abbreviation of Nicholas, and by the 16th century it was regarded as "a rustic nickname". It then died out, but the Scottish version, with the same spelling, continued, and that's the one Mr Cowdrey and the rest of us share today. It comes from the Gaelic *coilean*, which means "a young dog". I mention this with some hesitation. After all, once it gets out, the general is almost certain to be known as Puppy Powell.

The BBC had heard that he used this pronunciation, and checked it with the National Security office in Washington: that's right they said, Coe-lin. Why does he call himself Coe-

lin? And, if he wishes to be consistent, shouldn't he call himself Coe-lin Pole?

If he were English, we may have suspected he was elongating the vowel sound in a clumsy attempt to make it sound posh. But Americans do not share our anxieties over social gradation and, in any case, a colleague in Washington tells me that his pronunciation has attracted no comment there.

But the general's family comes from Jamaica, and I was sure I would find the explanation there. Not a bit of it. At the Jamaican high commission in London they have been rolling around laughing at this quaint pronunciation.

In a book of babies' names, I found news to cheer Colins the world over — and the general more than most. The name means "victorious". Colins the Victorious. With a name like that, he can pronounce it any old way he wants. Talk about the right man for the job...

COLIN DUNNE

ST. JOSEPH'S HOSPICE

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There is never a time in caring when no more can be given, no more can be learned, no more can be said. Thank you for listening, and for sharing so often the joy of your giving with the gravely ill patients in our care.

Sister Superior

THE SHAPE OF SIXTH FORMS TO COME?



Belinda Bilson commutes from Nottinghamshire to Stockport every week to find a comprehensive that offers the International Baccalaureate instead of A levels.

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BRIEFING

Toys for a birthday

WITH its own fortieth birthday falling in the Mozart bicentenary year, the Royal Festival Hall is being celebrated aptly on its anniversary, May 8, with an all-Mozart programme — though not all the music is by Wolfgang. The most intriguing item in this London Mozart Players gala will be a performance of the *Toy Symphony* by Mozart *père*, Leopold. Such luminaries as Dame Peggy Ashcroft, Joanna Lumley, David Mellor, Eleanor Bron, Patricia Routledge and Elisabeth Schwarzkopf will be rattling the requisite toys. The conductor is Harry Blech who, at 343 performances, holds the hall's conducting record.

Crafts revived

ONLY last year the Crafts Council was marked out for abolition. Now its future seems assured by the announcement that it is moving to a former dissenters' chapel in Islington, north London, as the first stage in the creation of a National Centre for Contemporary Crafts. Complete with public gallery, picture library and loan collection, the new centre will open in September. The Crafts Council was saved last autumn by an 11 per cent grant increase, to £2.8 million.

Last chance...

WELL, not quite the last chance: in the autumn the Royal Opera will pull together all the constituent parts of Götz Friedrich's *Ring* production. But the last *Götterdämmerung* of this season is at Covent Garden (071-240-1066) tomorrow. Bernard Haitink's conducting is widely admired, the singing (Gwyneth Jones, John Tomlinson, René Kollo) is superb, and the time-tunnel set works well in the Wagnerian twilight.



Superb John Tomlinson

OPERA

Boxing clever with Amadeus pearls

Paul Griffiths, music critic of *The Times*, explains how he collaborated with Mozart on a new opera, to be premiered tomorrow

Mozart's operas manage pretty well without any bicentenary hype. Even as you read this there is probably a Cherubino jumping out of the window somewhere in the world, while somewhere else a Don Giovanni is being dragged down to hell. But far less attention is paid to the fragments — of similar musical and dramatic quality — that exist in independent arias and ensembles which Mozart wrote throughout his adult life. Sometimes they were penned for operas he abandoned, sometimes for singers to interpolate in the works of other composers. Even if the search is confined to the pieces he produced for Italian comedies, there are 12 arias and five ensembles: enough, almost, to make a full-length piece. Hence *The Jewel Box*.

The arias span the period from 1775, when Mozart was 19 and had just finished a comic opera that has recently come in for reevaluation, *La finta giardiniera*, to 1789, when he was composing his last Italian comedy, *Così fan tutte*. We are not dealing with juvenilia here: this is mature Mozart, and several of these arias would be in everyone's humming repertoire if they had been written for *Figaro*.

The ensembles, too, are the real thing. Three of them come from projected operas that Mozart briefly took up in 1783 or thereabouts: *The Debauched Husband* and *The Cairo Goose*. The other two were composed a couple of years later for insertion in an opera that was being put on in Vienna, just as most of the arias were written for singers in Viennese productions.

The fact that Mozart wrote this music for particular singers provided one clue for its presentation in the theatre. Obviously, given 17 numbers written for 11 different operas, there could be no question of pretending to make them all fit stable characters in a coherent story. But if a certain singer in *The Jewel Box* could be made to sing only arias written for a particular 18th-century colleague, that in itself would provide a distinct consistency to the role, and would open up the possibility of an opera which is concerned with the definition of character through music.

Luckily, Mozart did have his

favourite singers, for whom he wrote on several occasions. One was his sister-in-law Aloysia Lange, a soprano of obviously extraordinary range and agility, another was Louise Villeneuve, the first Dorabella in *Così fan tutte*. The comic-opera arias written for them — two for Lange and three for Villeneuve — provided *The Jewel Box* with two of its vocal characters: an imposing virtuoso and a quick-witted, youthful creature. The former, in the context of a comedy, would obviously be a visitor from an altogether loftier world of feeling, while the latter soon suggested a young man: a Cherubino or, as he became, an image of The Composer (not named as Mozart: the opera is metaphor, not biography).

Other decisions also came quickly. For one thing, the opera would be sung in English because that was to be the language of the dialogue. But the Aloysia Lange character would perform in Italian, because it would have been heartless to the singer (and to the translator) to have to fit new words to her high, embellished line. Also, the overture to *The Debauched Husband*, a marvellous piece that opens with summing

The Composer is torn between The Singer and Colombina, vocal heroics and natural grace, opera seria and opera buffa

baroque in which he and his sister-in-law took part as Arlecchino and Colombina: *The Jewel Box* begins as a new pantomime into which The Composer arrives. But at once there are conflicts. The scheming Donoré, dominating his fellows, requires The Composer to compose: the four archetypes need proper characters to inhabit in order that they can fully exist. The Composer, however, is immediately attracted by Colombina, and she is not indifferent to him: after all, she has no Arlecchino in her world. This provides the opportunity for a teasing aria from Colombina, followed by the first Villeneuve aria from The Composer, singing of frustrated love.

But in honesty, this is not quite how the story came to be written. The first task was to arrange the 18 numbers (including the overture) in an order that would provide a fluent key scheme in the manner of *Figaro*. Since the overture and quartet are in D major, the next number had to be in a related tonality: Colombina's aria was the obvious choice because it is in G



The Singer (Jennifer Rhys-Davies, left) and The Composer (Pamela Helen Stephen) in the new Mozart/Griffiths opera, *The Jewel Box*

(*Figaro* starts with exactly the same harmonic movement). And so on. There were other constraints, of course. The five ensembles, being relatively few for a Mozart opera, had to be spaced out: no singer could be asked to sing two arias in succession; everyone had to have at least one aria in Act I and one in Act II; and the piece had to return finally to D major.

Indeed, the ordering of the numbers virtually decided itself, and so the narrative had to weave along a predestined track, making it appear, with any luck, that each stop for music would be dramatically necessary.

For instance, after Colombina and The Composer have sung their first arias, the pre-arranged order dictated the arrival of the Aloysia Lange character (again not named as such but introduced only as The Singer). Yet what could be more natural than that the representative of grand, serious opera should arrive at the moment when The Composer seems on the point of throwing in his lot with a group of

clowns? Here too, the events of the opera resonate a bit with those of Mozart's life, with his repeated demonstration that there could be a place for the high drama of opera seria within opera buffa, and with the love he felt for Aloysia before marrying his younger sister Constanze. Not unlike his composer, The Composer is torn between The Singer (almost Aloysia) and Colombina (perhaps Constanze in disguise), between vocal heroics and affecting natural grace, between opera seria and opera buffa. For the moment, however, he does the Donoré's will and writes an opera within the opera.

But at this point there has to be another intervention, since a bass voice is needed for the concluding quartet of the first act. Enter, then, The Father, not named as Leopold Mozart (though again the references are there for those who care to look). Like The Singer, The Father wants to rescue The Composer from the world into which he has strayed, but not in order to direct him into opera seria. Perhaps he wants to draw The Compo-

ser back to reality, though there could be a hint, too, of a Commandatore coming to claim a victim for hell.

The Father's aria here is not one of the dozen written for Italian comedies, since Mozart did not provide any such for bass voice: it was necessary therefore to use a concert piece. And a few other gaps had to be filled from outside the repertoire of opera buffa music. For instance, a finale had to be chosen from elsewhere in Mozart's output, since unfortunately he wrote no great septet to bring *The Jewel Box* to a culmination, and it would have been unfair, in what was planned as an ensemble piece, to have a conclusion using some of the singers but not others. The opera ends, therefore, with a dance, by which point the comedians and The Composer, together with The Father and The Singer, have all at last found a way towards existence beyond the realm of this opera.

The Jewel Box has its first performance at the Theatre Royal, Nottingham, tomorrow, in a production by Opera North.

THEATRE: NEW YORK

New blood in a startling vein

Joseph Papp, outspoken director of the New York Shakespeare Festival, is gradually relinquishing his power to younger artists. Holly Hill reports

At the age of 69, Joseph Papp is giving up power at the New York Shakespeare Festival he founded in 1953. But the indefatigable showman might still win the Grand Prix without a rest. Since last spring, he has made headlines by infusing the festival with new artistic blood and purging it of what he regards as tainted money.

At a time when economic doldrums threaten the festival with a million-dollar loss in state and city arts grants, and erosion of its endowment from \$17 million (£8.6 million) to \$10 million by next year, Papp has refused \$748,000 in grants from the National Endowment for the Arts. One of the fiercest combatants in the present dispute about censorship in the Endowment's Congressional charter, he has characteristically put his money where his mouth is: "I wish I could turn down more, but they didn't give me more."

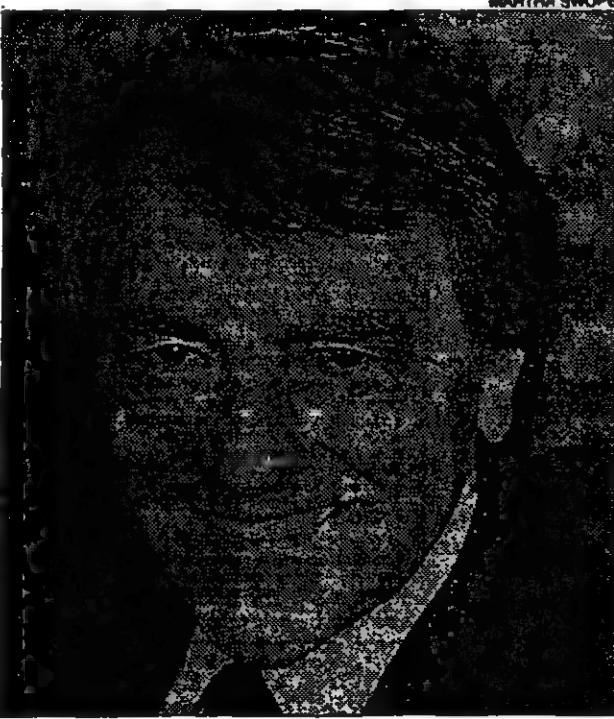
The first effect of the financial straits has been the closure of the festival's in-house technical shops, resulting in the dismissal of 30 employees. But Papp is boldly proceeding

with an expansion of his artistic staff. He has hired the 32-year-old experimental theatre director JoAnne Akalaitis as his artistic associate, and has turned over stages in the festival's Public Theater in Greenwich Village to three youthful directors whose first shows suggest great talent.

Papp gave each of the three directors a budget of \$300,000 for the season, with which to do whatever they wanted. Playwright-director George C. Wolfe, at 36 the oldest of the triumvirate, is also the only one known to the New York press and public. His satirical revue *The Colored Museum* played a season at the Public in 1987 and then moved to the Royal Court.

At the Public Theater he is developing the first black theatre within a white American institution. In December he staged a generally acclaimed version of *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* set in Haiti, and will soon direct his own new play, *Blackout*, which he describes as a "portrait of a city ready to explode."

Opening to greatest acclaim this season was the 31-year-old Michael Greif's immen-



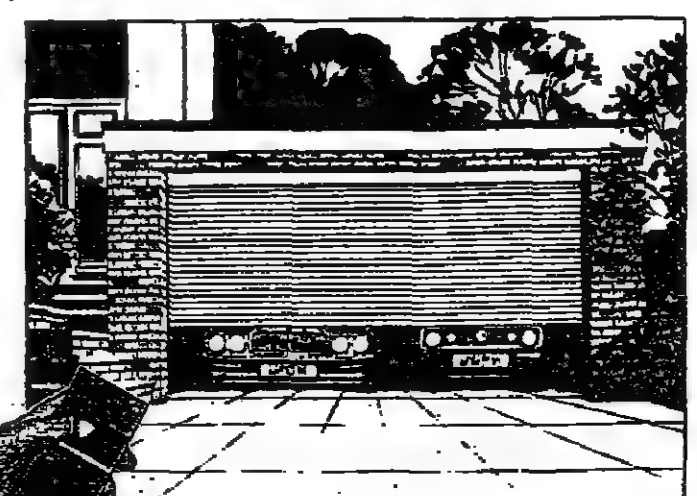
Joseph Papp: "If this theatre isn't being criticised for being too extreme, there's something wrong"

late staging of Sophie Treadwell's 1928 piece, *Machinal*, which showed the nearly lost Expressionist play to be more vibrant than Elmer Rice's *The Adding Machine*, the widely anthologised example of American Expressionism. After surviving heavy flak for staging Tony Kushner's *A Bright Room Called Day* (equating aspects of Hitler's Germany and Reagan's America), Greif now presents a play that sounds even more ambitious, Constance Congdon's feminist view of *Casanova*.

But clearly the most controversial new presence is the 34-year-old artist David Greenspan, who has developed his writing, directing and acting in the SoHo "performance art" milieu. His first Festival effort was a staging of the 17th-century Japanese play, *Gozan the Lancer*, which featured seven actors playing 19 characters, freely crossing colour and gender and mixing medieval Japanese and modern American references.

Another Papp recruit is 28-year-old Meira Benson, who has been given \$30,000 and a studio theatre for a series of free, staged readings. Her offerings so far have been Brecht's *Roundheads vs Peak-*

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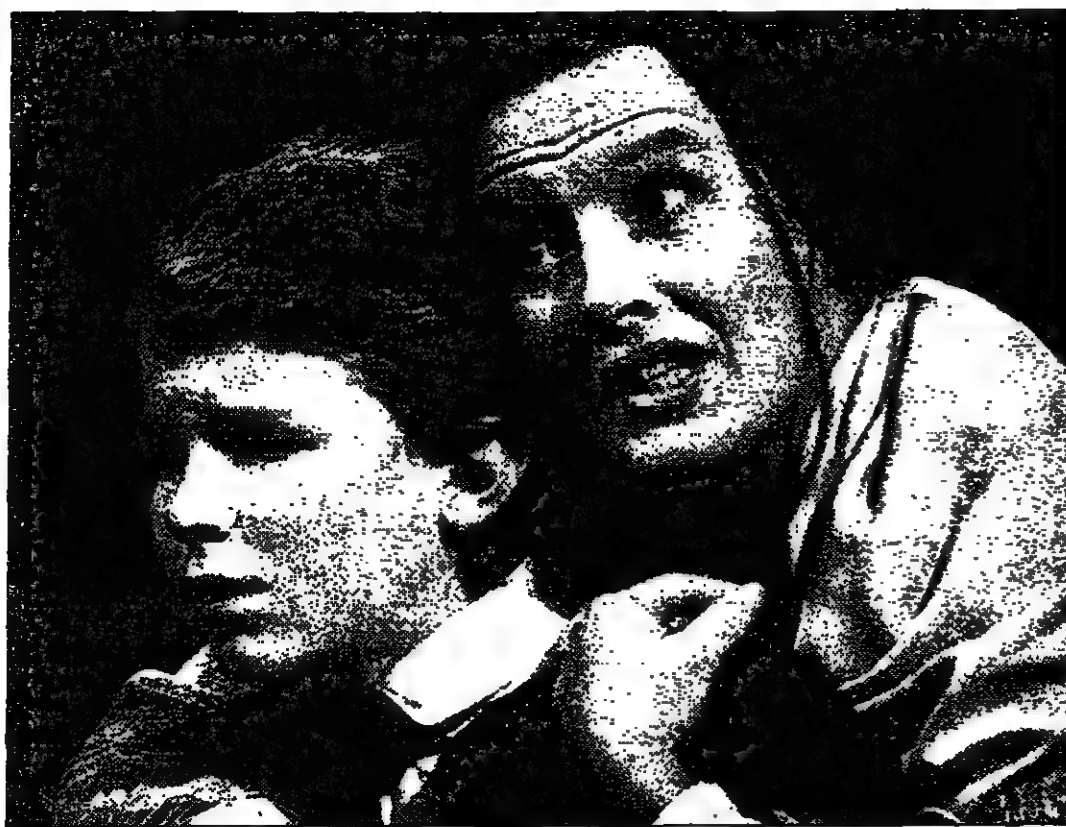
OPERA

The Turn of the Screw Coliseum

JONATHAN Miller's production of *The Turn of the Screw* for English National Opera has always been something of a tug of war between the claustrophobic experience of what the ears hear in Britten's score and the wide expanses which the eye must traverse on the Coliseum's stage.

What does "turn the screw" is the tight coil of musical intervals in the variations, something best served by an equally enclosed physical environment. Patrick Robertson's great diamond of a floor with its backscreen of ever-reflecting and refracting walls and mirrors, comes dangerously near turning psychodrama into melodrama. Whether the opera stays on the right side or not depends heavily in this production on the conductor and the performers. This fourth revival, again by David Ritch, just makes it. Michael Lloyd, conducting, could cut a sharper chord here, a more penetrating rhythm there, but his orchestral soloists play as delicately and pungently as this chilling, ambivalent score demands. The woodwind's black rhapsody during the bedroom scene between the Governess and Miles exemplifies the imaginative vigour of this performance.

There is a new, rather an old, Governess. Elene Hannan has been missed in her four years away from the Coliseum, and she returns to sing the role she originally created in this production. She does so with the simp-



Between heaven and hell: Samuel Burkey as Miles with Elene Hannan as the Governess

ity and ostensible innocence of vocal character as well as the ringing rage of desperation which Britten develops in her part. This production chooses to suggest the cyclical possibility in her role as governess: when she and her predecessor, Miss Jessel, confront each other, when she loses Flora and returns to sing the role she originally created in this production. She does so with the simp-

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THEATRE

Tristram Shandy Finborough Earls Court

STEPHEN Oxley's one-man version of Laurence Sterne's digressive, anecdotal novel might be termed a marathon; but that would suggest an element of strenuous effort absent from this engaging and intimate two hours - as sociable, affable and rational as the most enlightened product of the 18th century could desire.

The performer has himself adapted the book. The director, Brian Croucher, furnishes the acting area with a chair and a desk, perhaps with a view to easy touring (after success on last year's Edinburgh fringe, the show has appropriately toured Ireland, the origin of so many English language wits, including Sterne himself). The chest does duty as a bed for our hero's conception, with Oxley performing both Shandy parents - for, following the book's distribution of action, we reach Tristram's birth only at the end of the first part, after 50 minutes.

The chest also disgorges books, maps and Corporal Trim's old hat, all aids to memory and pointers to the tangents down which our narrator happily ambles in a way

"digressive and progressive too at the same time".

The best-loved incidents are there: the crushing of the infant's nose at birth, his inadvertent circumcision by a falling sash window, Uncle Toby's courting of the Widow Wadman. Oxley's manner is a delight, not merely because he buttons his audience, or shakes and kisses hands, but because he knows how to combine lightness with substance.



Oxley: comically observant

Two hours of flippancy would be intolerable, but he gives us an evening of varied comedy, affectionately observed. "Oh my countrymen, be nice, be cautious in your language!" he exhorts us, and he is; shrewd in judgement and carefully selective. A civilised, friendly and pleasurable evening.

MARTIN HOYLE

DANCE

Dansproduktie The Place

THE Place's Spring Loaded festival, announced as a celebration of British contemporary dance, is not entirely British: Dansproduktie, which appeared on Friday and Saturday, hails from the Netherlands. The company is well-known from previous visits; but even it was not, the lavishness of the designs would set it apart from poverty-stricken companies in Britain.

The same metal rods and broad-based panels provide the decor for all three pieces, arranged each time by Edwin Koops to look completely different. In *Venus Truant* by Phil Griffin they resemble a cage imprisoning its inhabitants in a demure drawing room and anguished relationship; in *Dries van der Post's* *Swamp* they become witty, *faux-naïf* lines and curves, worthy of a Fernand Léger painting; while in Guido Severini's *Signature* they are pared down to simple decorative structures, echoing the more abstract nature of the choreography.

But even here, as is the Dutch way, the dancers firmly establish personality and relationships. A

man stares appraisingly at a woman soloist before amblying confidently forward to partner her; he admires the perfect line of her arm as she tilts towards him. Severini's choreography has fluency and emphatic contours; but at half its length the piece would make more impact.

All the items share the same composer-musician, David Dramm, who reproduces his music partly on tape, partly live. The style is sharply percussive; but like the decor and dancing, it has variety. For *Venus Truant* it alternates with recitations of Shakespeare sonnets, as the dancers coil and fall violently. For *Swamp* Dramm makes a stunning entrance on a surreal tricycle, its handrails like scorpions.

Swamp makes up for its opaque message about childhood with a surface attractiveness where the movement seems to be a game. Shapes have a conventional legibility, but acquire playful details - broken wrists or a shuffling walk, feet elaborately pointed. The dancers, as elsewhere, perform beautifully.

If dancing is what you want, Dansproduktie certainly supplies it. Its programme is called *Tippa* (Malay for three). The content may be a little shaky, but the packaging is faultless.

NADINE MEISNER

NEW RELEASES

THE ADVENTURES OF FORD (1935) The first of the Ford and his horse, a musical comedy, is a classic of the genre. (Cannon, 01-636 0310).

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CONCERTS

Tortelier Festival Ulster Hall

TWO months ago, the world was robbed of that infectiously flamboyant cellist, Paul Tortelier. In cold, practical terms, that meant a quick change of plan for the Ulster Orchestra, so that

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● BUSINESS AND FINANCE 21-25
● EDUCATION 26,27
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● SPORT 29-34

BUSINESS

MONDAY FEBRUARY 18 1991

Business Editor
John Bell

Interest rates 'at 11% by autumn'

INTEREST rates will fall to 11 per cent by the autumn, enabling the economy to return to growth next year, a Barclays Bank forecast says.

Alan Davies, head of economics, writing in the latest edition of the *Barclays Economic Review*, predicts the rate cuts will allow Britain to avoid a "Thirties-style prolonged slump."

Delaying interest-rate cuts, however, could lead to a "far deeper recession than is necessary," Mr Davies says. He believes Norman Lamont, the Chancellor, will avoid tax cuts in the next Budget to ease moving to lower rates without undermining sterling.

Mr Davies predicts inflation will fall below 5 per cent by January, paving the way for "meaningful and sustainable economic growth" of 2 per cent to 3 per cent next year.

Even with growth next year, Mr Davies forecasts that unemployment is likely to rise above 2.5 million before the effects of the recovery begin to be felt in the labour market.

Unlike the Thirties depression, though, recovery will not be impeded by an unrealistically high pound, Mr Davies says. Sterling is not overvalued within the exchange-rate mechanism and will come under "strong upward pressure" once inflation is down, if interest rates remain "at anything like current levels".

Gowings upset
The board of Gowings, the motor distributor, residential parks and fast-food operator, is expecting strong shares to be held off by the market.

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Bids indicate strong support for power sale

By MARTIN WALLER

THE £3 billion-plus sale of shares in National Power and PowerGen, the two electricity generators, now looks assured of strong support despite an initial lack of enthusiasm in the City.

After collating preliminary bids from 270 institutional investors at the weekend, the government's advisers have indicated that the issue could be fully subscribed if the shares were offered on dividend yields of 6.3 per cent.

The preliminary bids, which are being used for the first time in a British privatisation, also suggest that the issue would be subscribed twice over on the basis of 6.5 per cent yields. In the early stages of the sale the government expected the yield basis would have to be much higher, perhaps in the 7½ per cent to 7¾ per cent range, implying a considerably lower valuation for the companies.

John Wakeham, the energy secretary, will decide on Wednesday the price at which the two generators will be sold to the public. The actual price and yield will be formally announced on Friday, impact day. The two are to be floated at an identical yield.

The government has been helped in selling the companies by the stock market's firmness during the Gulf war. The advisers have also had the

advantage of the preliminary bidding, which was designed to make underpricing less likely and to rule out the possibility of City investors talking down the price.

A second round of institutional offers takes place this week, and the pressure on the yield is likely to be downwards as firms that bid in the higher ranges adjust their prices in order to be sure of receiving stock. The government has indicated that those who deliberately underprice could be left out of the eventual sale.

Upward pressure on the yield will come from the need to court the private investor, who is unlikely to be attracted to the float at the sort of yields the City is prepared to accept, despite the multi-million pound advertising campaign.

The advisers are also aware of the fragility of markets as a land war looms, a point highlighted by the 20-point rise and subsequent decline in the FT-SE 100 index on Friday in response to Gulf developments. Mr Wakeham's decision, current market conditions permitting, is therefore likely to be above 6.3 per cent. On a 6.5 per cent yield, the two companies are valued at about £3.5 billion, with the sale of 60 per cent of the two raising £2.1 billion before expenses.

A decision to price below 6.5 per cent would be a signal to private investors to stay

away. The government is keen to avoid repetition of the huge over-subscription of the 12 regional distribution companies last year.

● The cost of privatising the electricity industry could soon reach £1 billion, according to John Lyons, general secretary of the Electrical Power Engineers' Association.

Mr Lyons says that the run-up to privatisation cost the electricity industry £807 million for the 1989-90 financial year alone. The largest part of that cost was incurred at National Power and PowerGen, with the money spent on rationalisation and restructuring. The 12 regional distribution companies spent almost £40 million, while National Electric and National Grid spent £104 million and £8 million respectively.

To be added to the bill must be £49 million the government spent on underwriting costs for the flotation of the distributors, plus £53 million spent by the energy department on advisers over the last four years. With the £17 million cost of running the Office for Electrical Regulation for two years added, the total bill so far comes to £926 million, Mr Lyons says.

The cost will rise to about £1 billion when all the accounts for 1990/1 are published and the two Scottish electricity companies are floated too, he says.

Chemicals 'must clean up image'

By OUR INDUSTRIAL STAFF

EUROPE's chemical industry should establish an independent chemical inspectorate to improve the sector's environmental credibility, Sir John Harvey-Jones, former chairman of ICI, says today.

Sir John says the industry is continuing to lose public credibility over its environmental performance. He says that unless checked or reversed, this will result in "ill considered" legislation.

Writing in *Chemical Outlook International*, a new journal produced by the Economist Intelligence Unit, he says: "Such legislation will place further competitive disadvantages upon the chemical industry in Europe and may even have the long-term effect of removing this vital industrial force from this continent."

Claiming there is statistical evidence that the industry's contribution to pollution is small compared with carbon emissions from fossil-fuel burning and the internal combustion engine, Sir John says the many initiatives to reverse the problem of environmental credibility have all failed.

Even specific improvements, such as water-borne paints or less harmful alternatives to chlorofluorocarbons, are seen as admissions of guilt or further unprincipled grasping for profit.

Sir John proposes an independent inspectorate that would have free right of access to any chemical plant and an obligation to publish its findings within six weeks of their submission to the owners of any investigated plant.

He also calls for more co-ordinated publicity from the industry on the environment.

Young fights off Rover sale attack

By PHILIP BARNETT, INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

LORD Young of Grafton, the former trade and industry secretary, yesterday defended his handling of the government's sale of Rover to British Aerospace three years ago.

He said that, without his actions in the sale, a large number of jobs would have been lost and considerable external investment would not have come to Britain.

Lord Young's remarks come in advance of the publication this week of what is expected to be a damning report on the sale.

On Thursday, the Commons all party trade and industry select committee will publish its latest report into the affair.

The report, which has taken two years to complete, has split Conservative MPs on the committee, and is expected to criticise Lord Young, now chairman of Cable and Wireless, for his actions at the time of the sale in 1988.

Lord Young is likely to be attacked for failing to give MPs a clear account of the sale, under which BAe bought the Rover car group for £150 million.

But yesterday, Lord Young, a former deputy chairman of the Conservative party, said he was satisfied with his role in the affair.

He said 200,000 jobs were saved by the sale, and if it had not taken place Rover would not have been able to attract Honda to Britain for a joint venture and to establish a new factory in Swindon. He made it clear he had no regrets over the sale of the company.

Political and industrial supporters of Lord Young believe that in its pursuit of the affair, regardless of the employment implications, the trade and industry committee is losing the respect of businessmen and politicians.

Lord Young said that the trade and industry committee had been unable to identify possible purchasers of Rover other than BAe, and that the only points now at issue were the so-called £38 million "sweeteners" for the deal.

These included the government's reimbursement of a substantial proportion of BAe's costs, deferment of the overall purchase price and other assistance.

Lord Young said these were subject to court action in Europe and he expected to be vindicated.

Lord Young will make a statement on the report's conclusions after its publication.

The select committee is expected to criticise the government - in effect the trade and industry department then headed by Lord Young - over allegations of collusion between the Inland Revenue and BAe over the tax arrangements in the sale.

During the boom years of the 1980s there was a very substantial increase over and above the rate of inflation," he said.

The researchers found that companies were most inclined to cite philanthropic and altruistic motives for giving, but they said increasing numbers recognised an element of self-interest.

Mr Christie said there was a "growing trend" to shift sponsorship away from sport and the arts towards social and "environmental" sponsorship.

"We have also found that many companies prefer to restrict sponsorship to their local areas because employees can identify with what is being done," he said.

Many companies had yet to draw up clear policies towards giving, said Mr Christie. But most resented appeals to help provide basic equipment for schools and hospitals.

Donations by many companies now



Real thing - not a dummy recession: Nigel Whitaker of CBI distributive trades panel

Sales worst in eight years

By OUR INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

SHOPS are now selling less than a year ago, according to the Confederation of British Industry - the first time retailing business has actually fallen on an annual basis since CBI retail surveys began in 1983.

Business leaders say there is no foreseeable respite in the retailers' bleak new year even after last week's half point cut in interest rates.

The figures, in the monthly CBI distributive trades survey, paint the worst picture for January retailing in the eight years since the survey began. They indicate government pressure on consumer spending via high interest rates is working. Government retail sales figures for January are published today.

Business in the high street was flat for the final two months of 1990, with Christ-

mas producing no real boost, according to the CBI figures, which show static sales volume, with a balance of 1 per cent of retailers in November and 2 per cent in December reporting better sales.

However, once into the new year, that low, but still positive, sales volume changed markedly, and today's survey shows 35 per cent of retailers reporting a rise, but 42 per cent a fall, giving a negative balance of 7 per cent.

The CBI says this is a "marked deterioration" from the 50 per cent retail sales growth in January last year. Retailers expect sales to continue to fall in February, at the roughly similar rate of -9 per cent.

Further signs of the collapse in consumer spending come in the continuing decline in the volume of orders placed by retailers with their suppliers, now at -11 per cent, and a

balance of almost a fifth of retailers believing their stocks are too high.

Nigel Whitaker, chairman of the CBI distributive trades panel, said that with the recession intensifying throughout the country, high street spending is still falling in real terms. The worse figures for high street sales help push the balance for total distributive sales volume down to -30 per cent. This compares with -17 per cent in December, and 17 per cent in January 1990.

● British companies have the second lowest distribution costs in Europe, says a survey by the European Consortium of Logistics Consultants, represented in Britain by PE, the management consultant. Dutch firms have the lowest distribution costs, at 6.7 per cent of turnover, then British (7.7 per cent), and French (8.7 per cent).

German plea for Gatt talks rescue

By NEIL BENNETT

THE German economics minister has called on international leaders to rescue the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks from total collapse.

Jürgen Möllemann made the plea at the Frankfurt consumer goods fair. He warned governments not to allow a farm subsidies dispute to prevent the talks, and said the EC must adopt principles compatible with trading partners.

"We must dare to take the courageous step to allow structural change in areas where market economics have not yet been realised," he said.

His plea comes as Arthur Dunkel, Gatt's director-general, begins negotiations to try to restart the talks which were abandoned last December. A Gatt spokesman said countries seemed prepared to begin talks on a low level, in the hope that the agricultural dispute would be resolved later.

Thirty questions, page 23

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Charity survives the recession

By ROSS TIEHAN

INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

A BOOM in charitable giving by companies shows few signs of tailing off despite the tougher economic climate, according to a study by the independent Policy Studies Institute.

Company investment in the community is estimated at more than £300 million a year and could be as high as £1 billion if gifts of equipment and executive time are included, says the PSI.

The institute found that smaller and medium-sized companies tended to be the most generous.

Ian Christie, co-author of the study, *Companies and Communities*, said charitable donations by Britain's 200 largest companies doubled in real terms between 1977 and 1986. They have since increased by a further 20 per cent.

"During the boom years of the 1980s there was a very substantial increase over and above the rate of inflation," he said.

The researchers found that companies were most inclined to cite philanthropic and altruistic motives for giving, but they said increasing numbers recognised an element of self-interest.

Mr Christie said there was a "growing trend" to shift sponsorship away from sport and the arts towards social and "environmental" sponsorship.

"We have also found that many companies prefer to restrict sponsorship to their local areas because employees can identify with what is being done," he said.

Many companies had yet to draw up clear policies towards giving, said Mr Christie. But most resented appeals to help provide basic equipment for schools and hospitals.

Donations by many companies now

total about 0.5 per cent of pre-tax profits, just half the level of corporate giving in America. However, Mr Christie suggested that the absence of a well developed welfare state had been a spur to corporate giving there. "Corporate social responsibility is a natural part of business in the United States," he said.

"The local dimension is very important indeed."

In the light of his research, Mr Christie suggested many companies needed to think more clearly about the objectives of giving.

The "definite intangible benefits" of giving, such as brand and company awareness, and improved relations with customers, employees and suppliers, should be more widely recognised, he said.

Charities should see business as a willing partner.

TOURIST RATES		
	Bank	Bank
	Buy	Sell
Australia	2.58	2.43
Austria	21.40	20.00
Belgium	2.29	2.24
Canada	11.69	10.59
Denmark	7.44	6.59
Finland	10.31	9.96
France	10.31	9.96
Germany	3.04	2.84
Greece	15.36	15.05
Hong Kong	1.14	1.07
Ireland	11.07	10.70
Italy	2285	2257
Japan	3415	3235
Netherlands	2.71	2.65
Norway	1.97	1.91
Portugal	4.35	4.25
South Africa	1.00	0.95
Spain	11.38	10.70
Sweden	2.60	2.55
Switzerland	6.90	6.80
Turkey	1.90	1.85
USA	2.00	1.95
Yugoslavia	25.00	22.00

Rates for small denomination bank cheques
supplied by Barclay Bank P.L.C. Different
rates apply to travellers' cheques.

Retail Price Index: 130.2 (January)

Rates for small denomination bank notes only as supplied by Barclays Bank PLC. Different rates apply to travellers' cheques.

Retail Price Index: 130.2 (January)

Countdown to the ERM election

ECONOMIC VIEW

ANATOLE KALETSKY

The high priests of economic policy are well pleased. John Major and Norman Lamont have finally been baptised as true believers in the ERM religion. The favourable market reaction to last week's cut in interest rates has proved that the government understands the spirit of the ERM and is able to live by it — or so the Treasury and the Bank of England feel. In a sense, this is true. Like Jim and Tammy Bakker, the born-again televangelists, the prime minister and Chancellor "have religion"; but it is a religion which they make up as they go along.

Nobody should have been surprised that Britain felt free to cut interest rates when sterling was six pence below its ERM midpoint and almost down to its "peseta floor". This merely confirmed a truth revealed before Christmas — that there is only one level in the ERM which has any policy significance and that is the ultimate lower limit of DM2.7780. But it was still a bit rich for an avowed anti-inflation zealot like Mr Major to ease monetary policy just two days after the worst figure on producer

prices in almost a decade, and the day before the Bank of England admitted in its quarterly bulletin that "there is as yet little sign that either earnings growth or underlying inflation has declined".

There is, as always in theology, a way of making the words justify the deeds. We are now told that it is not the level of sterling, but its "strength" that dominates the ERM credo. Sterling money markets were already discounting a cut in base rates last week, yet the pound was not actually falling; ergo, the underlying support for sterling was strong. A cut in rates was thus fully justified.

This judgment was apparently endorsed by the market, where sterling rose after the rate cut. But how long will this confidence last?

The idea that a currency is strong when it is low, and weak when it is high may sound perverse, but it is actually quite logical. After all, the lower the pound falls, the less likely it is to

fall further. This is in fact the self-stabilising principle that eventually allows an exchange rate, or any other price, to find a reasonable level in a free market system.

But this can become a dangerous precept when applied in a system like the ERM, which relies on manipulating expectations to override normal market forces.

If sterling is strong when it is low, then an irresistible conclusion follows: the pound should be strengthened even more by making it fall as rapidly as possible to DM2.7780. If this could be done without undermining the government's perceived commitment to the ERM floor, sterling would then start to benefit at last from the inflows of

hot money which most economists had confidently predicted when Britain first joined the ERM.

Interest rates could be cut rapidly towards the German level — and this could be done perfectly "responsibly" by simply telling the Bank of England to bow to pressures in the money market. To a prime minister who must soon face the nation, this is obviously a beguiling story, which was why Mr Major managed to persuade Mrs Thatcher to join the ERM in the first place. It has, however, a fatal flaw.

As soon as the markets get a whiff of a general election, the sanctity of the ERM floor at DM2.7780 will vanish. Deter-

mined intervention by the Bank of England might just be able to control a run on sterling during the three weeks between the election and the formal announcement. But any longer period of pre-election speculation would make it extremely difficult to hold the ERM floor without resorting to higher interest rates.

Two weeks ago, this column used a version of the "low pound equals strong pound" argument to suggest that interest rates could be cut almost immediately to 12 per cent by allowing sterling to fall to about DM2.85. But this would only be possible if an election, and hence a possible devaluation, was thought to be at least a year away.

After last week's cut in rates, preceded as it was by Mr Major's comment that the ERM should not be seen as a monetary "straitjacket", it may be more reasonable to begin the election countdown now.

If this suspicion begins to

spread in the markets, Mr Major will find that the ERM becomes a straitjacket after all, in its typically perverse way. There seem to be just three ways that Mr Major can avoid being straitjacketed and follow through on last week's small gesture with more substantial cuts in rates.

First, Mr Major could make a solemn public promise not to call the election before 1992. This would be the surest way of reinforcing faith in the ERM floor of DM2.7780; it would allow base rates to be cut immediately to 12 per cent or even lower. Second, he could be saved by the ineptitude of the Labour party: it is just possible that the Labour leadership, in a vain attempt to curry favour with the City, might be foolish enough to rule out a devaluation. Finally, Mr Major could hope to trick the markets. He could continue to deny any plans to "cut and run", while secretly preparing for a 1991 election. This is, perhaps, the most likely prospect. Whether or not investors were taken in would determine the country's chances of salvation — not by the ERM religion, but from it.

Commission gets tough on thorny aid question

THE European Commission is to step up its fight against state subsidies, despite the economic slowdown throughout Europe and apparent attempts by the French government to increase aid to its state companies.

A senior commission source gave a warning that some governments had not yet understood the urgency of the matter. "They have yet to understand that the commission is going to be very tough on this issue [control of state subsidies]," he said.

His comments were clearly aimed at France, although the country was not explicitly mentioned, since it is one of the least enthusiastic countries in Europe for a common policy on state aid.

Sir Leon Brittan, vice-president of the commission, who is in charge of competition policy, will propose legislation to force members to disclose all subsidies given to individual companies with a turnover of more than Ecu200 million (£140 million).

The move, considered in Brussels to be a crucial pre-requisite for the fight against subsidies, is aimed at improving the visibility of subsidies because the commission often has difficulties at present in making a proper case against illegal aid. The French government is known to be strongly opposed to the proposals.

However, the commission is prepared for a showdown with the French government, which recently proposed to step up subsidies for companies hit by the recession.

The commission is still haunted by memories of the most recent clash with France over Renault, when the company refused to meet obligations to cut capacity in return for a subsidy it had received from the French government.

In a negotiated settlement Renault finally agreed to repay Fr3.5 billion, but this was far short of the original subsidy. As a result, the commission was criticised for yielding to French political pressure. Although the criticisms were



Backing Brittan: Germany's Jürgen Möllemann

consistently rejected in Brussels, Community officials believe that in future the commission needs to take a much harder line. The question of state aid is a typically

state aid, Sir Leon is likely to be supported by Jürgen Möllemann, the new German economics minister, who pledged to cut German federal subsidies by 10 per cent this year to gain extra finance for the reconstruction of eastern Germany.

However, German government sources fear that if Germany cuts industrial subsidies when France proposes increases for its companies, competition might be severely distorted. The situation is recognised by the commission, which is determined to foil any attempt by the French government to go ahead with the subsidy scheme.

The Confederation of British Industry welcomed the commission's attitude, but expressed concern that, on the issue of subsidy cuts, the British government is moving ahead faster than other European countries, placing British companies at a competitive disadvantage.

Between 1986 and 1988 the average amount of state aid, excluding research and development assistance, in Britain amounted to Ecu6.6 billion a year, while comparable expenditures in France totalled Ecu15.3 billion, and in Germany Ecu23.9 billion.

The commission is also negotiating over subsidy cuts with the German authorities.

The division of the country led to a disadvantage for the western German border areas as a result of which about 39 per cent of the old West Germany qualified for aid under the Community's regional aid schemes.

After unification, Sir Leon believes this is no longer justified and has proposed severe cuts.

In the light of necessary budgetary savings, the German government, for once, appears sympathetic to these proposals, as it allows ministers to blame "Europe" for unpopular cuts.

WOLFGANG MÜNCHAU
European Business Correspondent

Power sale must reward Frank

TEMPUS

SO FAR, so good. The unusual approach adopted for the flotation of National Power and PowerGen raised a few eyebrows in the City. But, helped by a strong performance by the equity market, the plan seems to be working.

It is clear after the "book building" exercise, which required indications of institutional support, that the yield required by professional investors is far less than was feared. Put another way, the proceeds should be higher than expected. Top marks to Kleinwort Benson, the government's adviser.

By Friday, impact day for the £3 billion-plus issue, the details will be settled. But in the meantime, there will be conflicting pulls on John Wakeham, energy secretary.

There is likely to be pressure for even lower yields (higher prices) than those indicated so far when the institutions go in for a second round of bidding this week in order to make sure of securing stock. But if Mr Wakeham wants to ensure a strong response from private investors, he must take on board at least two points.

First, the outcome of the electricity distributors' sale left deep disenchantment everywhere. Private investors

received so few shares, or none at all, that many will feel the exercise was pointless.

Second, he has to remember that the Gulf factor will also put off the private investor, especially those staging the sale for short term profit.

The final yield and price, therefore, will have to be fixed at a level that still leaves something worthwhile for Frank and his wife.

Sovereign Oil & Gas

SOVEREIGN Oil & Gas has escaped the adverse publicity surrounding the dispute over the fate of a semi-submersible rig bound for the Emerald oilfield in the North Sea. But as the operator, with 30 per cent, its shares have fallen from 218p in September to 150p.

Oil is unlikely to flow from the field before this summer, depriving Sovereign of vital cash flow. The field now looks set to come on stream just as oil prices threaten to dive.

However, Sovereign shares have tracked the market, not oil prices, because it forward

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THE TIMES CITY DIARY

Smee sings the blues

KEN Bates, the tireless chairman of Chelsea Football Club, has recruited a new ally in his battle to keep Chelsea playing at Stamford Bridge. The new member of the off-the-pitch team is none other than Roger Smee, former chairman of Reading Football Club and founder of Rockfort, the quoted property company that was one of the first casualties of the property market collapse — it went into administration last August. For Smee, now a man with time on his hands, his arrival at Stamford Bridge has turned out to be something of a homecoming. After leaving school, he had three seasons at Chelsea as a youth player before a broken ankle ended his hopes of a first division career. He continued to play first team football for Reading, before eventually swapping football for business. Smee is modest about his role in attempting to resolve the impasse at Stamford Bridge — caused by Cabra Estates, Chelsea's landlord, which has given the club the option of buying the ground at its 1988 value, £60 million, or finding another venue. "Ken Bates is involved in a very complex property issue," he says.

Seoul music

THE powers-that-be in Northern Ireland, always open to a good idea, have found an ingenious if costly way of attracting foreign investment

to the region. Next month the Ulster Orchestra under its principal conductor, Yan-Pascal Tonnerre, leaves for a week-long tour of South Korea, with the backing of the Industrial Development Board, in the hope of pinning down some lucrative new clients. Despite the support of the British Council and a Korean hotel chain which is helping with accommodation, the cost of sending the party of 86 is expected to run into six figures. The tour will be the centrepiece of an intensive six-week campaign by the development board in Korea, which has already won one heavyweight investor, the giant Daewoo Corporation, which now manufactures video recorders at a factory in Antrim. "Western classical music is very popular in Korea," says Sir Eric McDowell, IDB chairman, adding that the best known European song of all in that country is Danny Boy — set, of

course, to the old Ulster tune The Londonderry Air.

A different time

WHO said class distinction no longer exists in the Square Mile? Members of the Council of Mortgage Lenders, a professional body comprising all mortgage lenders other than building societies — and dreamed up by Building Society Association director general Mark Boland — have been laughing mockingly at the said association after receiving invitations to its annual conference and dinner in Glasgow in May. The council was, they say, dreamt up two years ago as a way of boosting the association's funds, since the number of bona fide building societies has more than halved during the past decade. Last year the council, which contributes to its funds, received its first invitation to attend the association's annual thrash, then in Brighton. The dinner, a "black tie and decorations" affair, was the highlight of the week. But this year the association, known to look down its nose somewhat at the "CML crowd" has organised two dinners on the same night but in different hotels. One, once again black tie and decorations, is for association members only, while the other, for council members — who include banks and insurance companies — calls only for lounge suits. "They are happy to take our money but they don't want to have to talk to us," says a council source. "But there's no resentment in

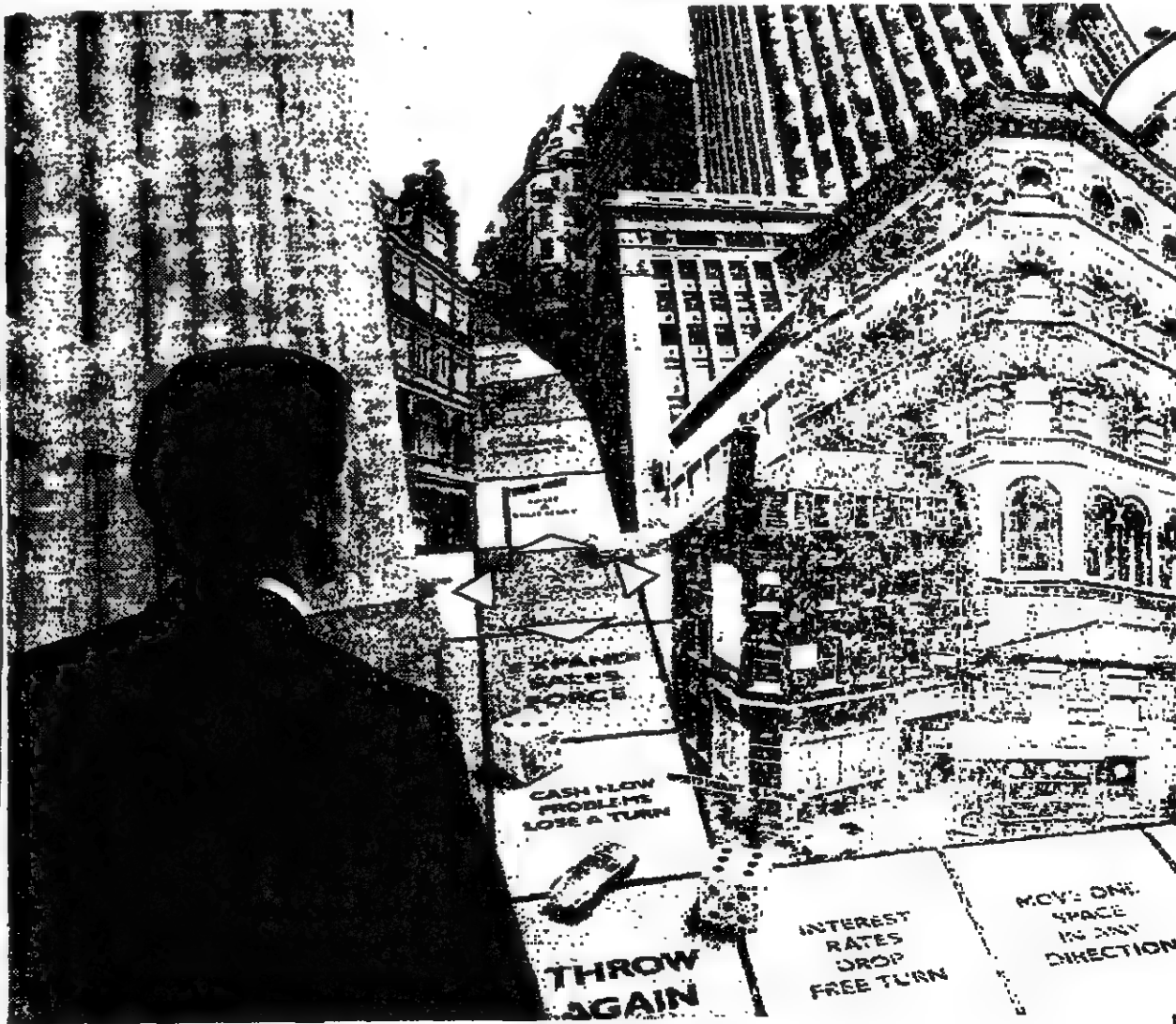
fact, we think it's hilarious. It sums up the relationship that the association has with other people who have moved into the mortgage market."

NOTICE spotted in a stockbroker's office. "Economists are people who earn their living by predicting that it will be hot in August, cold in February — but not necessarily."

Duet for one

THE vacancy left by the death last year of Lord Swann, former chairman of the BBC, has led to a hotly contested race to take over the reins as chancellor of York University, a position he had held since 1979. Among those tipped for the post are Lord Carrington, the chairman of Christie's International, and Edward Heath, the former prime minister, who, as it happens, appointed Swann to his position at the BBC. Meanwhile York University, which last year denied it was planning to change the name of the Sir Jack Lyons Music Hall, named after the millionaire financier fined £3 million for his part in the Guinness affair, is remaining suitably tight-lipped about the choice of candidates. The registrar will only say that a shortlist has been decided, adding it would be "invidious" to mention names. Word on the campus, however, fuelled by reports on BBC Radio York, is that the pair are front-runners, and that a decision is expected soon.

CAROL LEONARD



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Signature _____

Job title _____

Company name _____

Company address _____

Postcode _____

Tel Code _____ Number _____

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FORM 1

Portfolio

PLATINUM

From your Portfolio Platinum card check your eight share price movements on this page only. Add them up to give you your overall total and check this against the daily dividend figure. If it matches you have won outright or a share of the daily prize money. If you win, follow the claim procedure on the back of your card. Always have your card available when claiming. Game rules appear on the back of your card.

No.	Company	Group	Gain or loss
1	B. Land	Property	
2	Bentley (Finance) A	Drugs, Stores	
3	Uthmaniyah	Oil, Gas	
4	Reliance	Industrial L-R	
5	Sonnet	Property	
6	Hoskyns	Electronics	
7	Almancor	Industrial A-D	
8	Compass	Industrial A-D	
9	Stem Ltd	Manufacturing	
10	Kellogg	Industrial E-K	
11	McLellan	Industrial L-R	
12	Boat (Henry)	Building, Roads	
13	Racal	Industrial L-R	
14	Park Foods	Food	
15	Goldfield	Building, Roads	
16	Messager	Industrial L-R	
17	Standard	Paper, Print, Adv	
18	Wendell	Industrial S-Z	
19	All Star	Electronics	
20	TNT	Transport	
21	Robt-Royce	Manufacturing	
22	Wessex	Bank, Finance	
23	Spring Ram	Industrial S-Z	
24	ACT Group	Electronics	
25	BPP	Newspapers, Pub	
26	Blackburn	Building, Roads	
27	Appleyard	Manufacturing	
28	Gleeson (M)	Building, Roads	
29	Hunting	Industrial E-K	
30	Clifford Foods A	Food	
31	VSEL	Industrial S-Z	
32	Casson S	Industrial A-D	
33	Barclay	Industrial A-D	
34	Rayson (Charles)	Industrial A-D	
35	Explochem	Industrial E-K	
36	Bentley	Drugs, Stores	
37	Six Hundred	Industrial S-Z	
38	Electron House	Electronics	
39	Carroll	Chemicals, Plastics	
40	Salverson (China)	Food	
41	Telford	Industrial S-Z	
42	Cape	Industrial A-D	
43	Young (H)	Industrial S-Z	
44	Alford Text	Textiles	

Please take into account any minus signs

Weekly Dividend					
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

The winner of the weekly Platinum Portfolio prize of £4,000 is Margaret Shaw, of Thornbury, West Yorkshire.

BRITISH FUNDS					
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

SHORTS (Under Five Years)					
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

FIVE TO FIFTEEN YEARS					
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

OVER FIFTEEN YEARS					
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

UNDATED					
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

INDEX-LINKED					
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP					
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

ELECTRONICS					
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat

STOCK EXCHANGE PRICES

Capitalisation and change on week

(Current market price multiplied by the number of shares in issue for the stock quoted)
ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings began February 11. Dealings end February 22. Settlement day February 25. Settlement day March 4.
Forward bargains are permitted on two previous business days.

Prices are Friday's middle prices. Change, dividend, yield and P/E ratios are calculated on middle prices.

Company	Price	Change	Dividend	Yield	P/E
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

BREWERIES					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

BUILDING, ROADS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

ELECTRICITY					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FINANCE, LAND					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FINANCIAL TRUSTS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FOODS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

CHEMICALS, PLASTICS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

DRAPERY, STORES					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

ELECTRONICS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Company	Price	Change	Dividend	Yield	P/E
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

BREWERIES					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

BUILDING, ROADS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

ELECTRICITY					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FINANCE, LAND					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FINANCIAL TRUSTS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FOODS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

CHEMICALS, PLASTICS					
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21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

DRAPERY, STORES					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

ELECTRONICS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

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21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

BREWERIES					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

BUILDING, ROADS					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

ELECTRICITY					
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21st Century	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

FINANCE, LAND					
21st Century					
185.50	Home			1.7	1.7
185.50	Harpington Hill		0-74	1.4	7.3
187.00	67	100%		1.4	1.4
192.50	Home			1.7	1.7
192.50	Home			1.7	1.7
192.50	Home			1.7	1.7
192.50	Home			1.7	1.7
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Sanctuary of the overlords

Could the education department take over the running of schools from local authorities?

As the department moves to a new building, John O'Leary reviews other possible changes

A common complaint among civil servants in the Department of Education and Science (DES) used to be that they had no direct power over the service for which they were responsible. Lord Wilson, as prime minister, dismissed the department as little more than a postbox between the local authorities and the teacher unions.

Now the civil servants' main concern is that their influence might soon be all too direct. The government's review of the community charge includes proposals to remove education spending from local authorities, and this could leave the department to administer the affairs of every state school in England.

The department is nervous enough about the outcome for the normally affable permanent secretary, Sir John Caines, to refuse an interview. Sir John is noted for his open style, meeting most of his 2,500 staff in their offices in the months after his arrival at the department in 1989.

For the moment, however, questions that might elicit a hint about the department's readiness to take on a wider role are not welcome. In any case, changes are on the way. By August, the DES will have exchanged Elizabeth House, its unlovely Poulson-designed tower block next to Waterloo station, for more desirable quarters behind Westminster Abbey. The rebuilt Sanctuary Buildings should provide a touch of style noticeably absent in the department's present surroundings.

What the new offices will not provide is accommodation for the extra staff needed for a substantial increase in the number of grant-maintained schools, let alone the assumption of responsibility for the whole service. About 150 civil servants will have to remain temporarily in Elizabeth House because there is no room for them.

Those responsible for independent schools and the assisted places scheme, together with part of the statistics branch, are also moving to the department's outpost in Darlington, County Durham, as part of the government's decentralisation programme. The pensions branch, which is already in Darlington, has been named as a candidate for agency status.

Another 200 civil servants have been employed in the DES and the schools inspectorate since the Education Reform Act began to widen the department's responsibilities in 1988. Annual running costs have increased by £75 million since 1987, and are likely to rise by a further £25 million in the next three years.

The DES civil servants were characterised by Margaret Thatcher as establishment bureaucrats who would do all they could to block changes to the education system in which they had a vested interest. The new breed at the head of the department are not, however, the long-servers Mrs Thatcher knew.

Sir John headed the Overseas Development Administration until 1989 and had no previous connections with the DES. A popular figure at the department, he has not sought public prominence, but has increased direct communication with the schools.

Of his three deputy secretaries, only Nick Stuart, who has responsibility for schools, has spent much of his career in the department. The son of a *Times* foreign correspondent, he had a period abroad himself, serving in the European Commission before returning to the department.

John Wiggins, who oversees several branches, including the one responsible for teachers, has a Treasury background and came to the department only in 1987 after a period in the Cabinet Office. John Verker, the higher education and science spokesman, was with Sir John at the ODA, and only just predated his arrival. With a degree from Keele university, Mr Verker also defies any stereotype of a DES mandarin.

Ministers have their own tests of a department. One observed that the civil servants tend to dress like their clients. At the trade and industry department, for example, they are smartly turned out and could easily be mistaken for accountants or young entrepreneurs.

At the education department, the minister found "they have the scruffy look of the harassed school teacher, read the *Guardian* and come to work on a bike". He echoes the views of other politicians who have worked in Elizabeth



Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary, has a different technique, challenging the assumptions behind established practice

House, and found the natives to be user-unfriendly, certainly so far as ministers are concerned.

Another junior minister who had been through several departments before finally arriving at education said that he had been shocked by the attitude of some of the middle-ranking officials. "I have never been anywhere so unfriendly."

One former minister said that he and his fellow ministers were not best-served by the department because of the marked difference in the abilities of the senior and junior civil servants.

"At the top," he said, "there is a group that is cleverer than a barrel of monkeys, while the people below them are not so bright, and that is the worst possible combination for a minister."

Kenneth Baker, the architect of the government's education reforms, overcame officials' conservatism by ignoring advice that did not fit his vision of progress, while John MacGregor's critics said that he listened to officials too much.

Mr MacGregor, however, was more of a manager and was not frightened of rejecting advice. He ruled against them, for example, on the issue of whether schools should be allowed to teach the three separate sciences if they wanted to rather than being compelled to follow a balanced course covering all three up to GCSE.

Another revealing case study arose in the controversy surrounding Bechen Cliff school, Bath,

when the decision to allow it to opt out of local authority control was challenged in the High Court.

Mr MacGregor was instructed to re-examine his decision and to consider the effect it would have on school reorganisation in the area.

Cautious officials advised that the opt-out decision was difficult to justify, but were told to find ways of supporting it. They duly did and the school has now opted out.

Kenneth Clarke, the latest and probably last occupant of the secretary of state's office at Elizabeth House, has a different technique again, challenging the basic assumptions behind established practice. He has inherited a department that has demonstrated greater confidence in its role has grown.

The DES is no longer the civil service backwater it was once considered, and its old sobriquet, the department of evasion and silence, no longer applies. But few of the staff relish the new role some would thrust upon it.

Twin route to peak of achievement

Why an opportunity for a fair approach to secondary education must be seized

Three years ago, during the debates on the education reform bill, Labour argued that the national curriculum beyond the age of 11 could work only if it had more flexibility. The education secretary has now endorsed our policy.

In March, we made proposals for reforms in education and training for the 16 to 19-year-olds, including a new vocational training scheme for 16 to 20-year-olds. These proposals are vital if we are to improve the status of technical and vocational education and to make staying in education until the age of 19 the norm.

The education secretary's reform of the curriculum for 14 to 16-year-olds creates the possibility of achieving these objectives, but one senses that rather than enhancing cohesion, the government will, in practice, encourage division.

The arguments for such a conclusion are not hard to find. The government has rejected the reform of A-levels, the development of a broad post-16 curriculum and the suggested core skills for A-level students. The government has loaded the financial dice in favour of city technology colleges and grant-maintained schools to create division within the state education system.

Ministers have also introduced and administered the youth training system, which leads to a minority of those entering the scheme. It is difficult to see those ministers fostering a comprehensive education system which provides real parity of esteem for the traditional academic subjects and the technical and vocational courses.

The proposed reform for 14 to 16-year-olds is more likely, in this government's hands, to result in a two-tier system: a traditional academic route of, say, English, mathematics, double or triple science and two modern languages, and a soft option, including some vocational experience, for the so-called less-able.

This would recreate the grammar school and the secondary modern, this time under the one roof of the comprehensive. Such an outcome would serve merely to worsen the English disease of catering for a minority and classifying other young people and their skills as incapable of development and progress.

The education minister, Tim

Edgar, claims to be preparing proposals that will overcome the traditional academic and technical divide, opening up a new route to qualification, employment and higher education. Because Mr Edgar only last year was the minister responsible for cutting the resources available for the technical and vocational education initiative, some scepticism about his ability or will to deliver might be allowed.

In these post-Thatcher days, we should perhaps accept that ministers' past actions do not accurately reflect their true character. Even so, it is clear that the government is doing no more than grafting bits of vocationalism to the pre-16 curriculum. There simply is no overall 14-19 strategy.

Labour is keen to encourage the debate and ideas about a comprehensive 14-19 strategy. We see the potential of a twin route - academic and technical and vocational - leading in both cases to higher education. We know also that if the twin route is to work, the technical and vocational option must have adequate resources and equal esteem with the traditional academic route. We can achieve such parity only by ensuring an educational process that offers initial qualification at 16, and subsequent qualifications that are considered suitable for entry to higher education.

Labour's discussion of a technical and vocational option, after 14 years of age, to open up an assured place on our new proposed training scheme will guarantee the possibility of qualification at every stage and, for those wishing, the option of higher education.

This is the way to achieve parity, continuity and cohesion in the provision of education and training for the 14-19 age group. Such an approach can never come from a government hopelessly wedded to A-levels as the gold standard and committed to division and wasteful competition in education.

There is now a real chance of developing a twin-route, equal-status approach to 14-19 education. Let us hope that the government is not given the time to use the idea as a means of recreating grammar and secondary modern education.

DEREK FATCHETT

● The author is a Labour frontbench spokesman on education.

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POSTS



VAUXHALL

Vauxhall Professor of Manufacturing Management

The Putteridge Bury Management Centre is embarking upon a new industry: education partnership with Vauxhall Motors Limited to help improve the manufacturing performance of industry with particular emphasis upon achieving high levels of customer satisfaction.

A Graduate and possibly a qualified engineer, you will have practical experience of modern manufacturing methods and techniques as applied worldwide. You will have held a senior manufacturing post which required the motivation of people, and/or will be a well-qualified and respected academic.

For informal discussions contact Professor Wilson, Dean, Management Centre, on 0582 482555, or alternatively contact Debbie Ryan, Personnel Officer on 0582 34111, ext 380 for an information pack. We are an equal opportunities employer. Closing date 4 March 1990.

PUTTERIDGE BURY



A DIVISION OF LUTON COLLEGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS IN PROSTHETICS/ORTHOTICS

Applications are invited from the qualified Prosthetists/Orthotists with substantial experience and knowledge of traditional and modern practice for appointment to the National Centre for Training and Education in Prosthetics and Orthotics. Preference will be given to candidates with either a Degree or a Higher Diploma in Prosthetics and Orthotics.

Appointment will be made to a Lectureship or Senior Lectureship (salary range £12,086 - £26,471 per annum) depending on the qualifications, experience and age of the successful candidate.

For application form and further particulars (Ref 33/91) contact the Personnel Office, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XQ. Applications closing date: 1st March 1991.

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD External Relations Office SOCIAL SECRETARY

A Social Secretary is to be appointed, to be responsible to the Director of the External Relations Office for the organisation of events and social occasions for official visitors to the University, and for graduates, donors and prospective donors, and those assisting with the University's Development Campaign. First-class organisational skills, tact and diplomacy essential; knowledge of Oxford an advantage. Previous experience as a social secretary and organizer of major events in a professional setting (college, Foreign Service, charities) desirable.

Fixed-term appointment (30 September 1993) on Clerical scale 6 (£13,628 to £15,812). Requests for further particulars to: Mrs Anne Lonsdale, University Offices, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD (0865 270010).

Closing date for applications 8 March 1991. The University is an Equal Opportunity Employer.

Highly referenced and qualified teachers to teach English in Italy required.

Competitive wage, flat and company car supplied. Please reply in writing to: E.C.C. Srl Via G. Mattei, 14 20128 AREZZO (MI) ITALY

PART-TIME TEST ADMINISTRATOR

required by Cancer Analysts for 1 Saturday per month, plus some weekday availability during school holidays. Further 35+ preferred. London area. Full training given. Career Advancement Opportunity. W1, 071 735 5452 (20 hours).

BRENTWOOD SCHOOL (H.M.C.) 900 Pupils aged 11 - 18 240 in Sixth Form: Day/Boarding HEAD OF HISTORY

A Head of History is required for September, 1991 to lead this successful department and teach throughout the School up to O'level entrance. There are at present five full-time History specialists in the department and there will soon be more.

Letters of application, accompanied by a full curriculum vitae and the names, addresses and telephone numbers of two referees should be sent by the 28th February, to The Headmaster, Brentwood School, Brentwood, Essex, CM15 8AS, from whom further details may be obtained.

CHAIR OF LAW

The University of Strathclyde invites applications from candidates with established reputations in legal scholarship for a Chair of Law. The successful candidate will contribute to the leadership and management of a successful department. While the appointment is not limited to any particular area of law it is expected that the interests of the new Professor will complement those of the existing Professoriate.

For application form and further particulars (Ref 21/91) contact the Personnel Office, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XQ. Applications closing date: 15th March 1991.

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

J P TODD CHAIR OF PHARMACY

The University of Strathclyde invites applications for the J P Todd Chair of Pharmacy within the Department of Pharmacy. The successful candidate will have an established research record in the area of pharmacology. The salary offered on appointment will be commensurate with the seniority of the appointment.

For application form and further particulars (Ref 22/91) contact the Personnel Office, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XQ. Applications closing date: March 18, 1991.

GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART HEAD OF SCHOOL OF FINE ART

The Art consists of five well-developed disciplines: Environmental Art, Painting, Photography, Printmaking and Sculpture. It offers both honours and postgraduate CNAA validated courses. The Head should have appropriate experience and also be capable of making a contribution, with other senior staff, to the development of the School of Art as a whole. Salary £20,728 p.a. a fixed point.

HEAD OF PRINTMAKING

The Head should be a distinguished printmaker able to run the printmaking studios and also to make a contribution to the work of the School of Fine Art with the Head of School and the Heads of the other disciplines.

Salary scale £19,820 - £25,368 p.a. Both posts are for a fixed period of 5 years initially. The School operates an equal opportunities policy. Applications forms which should be requested completed by Saturday 23rd February 1991, from P.W. Kean MBE CA ACMA, Secretary & Treasurer, Glasgow School of Art, 167 Glasgow Street, Glasgow G2 0HQ. Tel. 041-332 5757 Fax 041-332 3506.

LECTURESHIP IN ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS

Applications are invited for a Lectureship in Organisational Analysis in the newly formed Department of Human Resource Management. Candidates should have a good honours degree and preferably a higher degree together with a proven record of academic research and publication. Applications from candidates with interests in the field of organisational change/innovation and change management will be especially welcome. Salary in range: £12,086 - £22,311 per annum.

For application form and further particulars (Ref 20/91) contact the Personnel Office, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XQ. Applications Closing Date: 8th March 1991.

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

Continued on facing page

LA CRÈME DE LA CRÈME

PA to Chief Executive

Fluent French

The newly appointed, charismatic Chief Executive of this well known City company is seeking a highly accomplished Executive PA to provide a first class back-up service. The emphasis is on the total co-ordination of all aspects of his business and social activities - an extremely varied and involved position.

In addition to excellent secretarial skills (100/60), the successful applicant must speak fluent French, ideally gained through work.

££ Generous Package

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BILINGUAL MARKETING SECRETARY - DESIGN SOHO

International design company with offices in London, Paris and Los Angeles requires an efficient and lively marketing secretary with fluent French. Excellent organizational and secretarial skills are required as well as ability to work on own initiative. Wong & Apple Mac experience useful.

Please call Beverly Smith on 071 494 0807 for details.

AUDIO WP SEC TO £13,000 AAE

Our client, a prestigious company, seek a secretary with good Audio WP skills (5000+). An excellent salary package is offered which includes regular reviews, bonus, life bonus and 6 weeks holiday. Candidates should be aged 25+ and have an 'O' level and/or an 'A' typing diploma.

Keynote Employment

SAILING SECRETARY

Part secretarial and part to assist in general sailing duties on 72' Motor Yacht with owner and wife plus Captain and crew. Based Bahamas cruising Florida and East Coast USA.

Owner is Chairman of UK and US hospital equipment manufacturer and requires conventional secretarial and communications assistance afloat and ashore. Medical experience particularly helpful but the job calls for a serious "self sufficient" person, probably 28+ and non smoker. She would live principally with owner and wife and have social skills for entertainment of guests, staffs and family members. This should be an ideal job of cruising in nearly permanent sunshine. Contract with full medical benefits by UK company.

Interview London or Havant February. Start April.

Mail CV and full illustration of your various qualifications, background, interests and ability to live happily in a small community.

The Chairman
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SALES ADMINISTRATOR

Guidford based Language Training company requires someone to organize language training for corporate clients. You must have considerable communication skills, excellent administration ability and be able to respond quickly to ever changing situations.

The work will be varied and demanding as you will be responsible for recruiting teaching staff, helping with clients at a senior level and looking after appropriate teaching facilities.

This will be a very challenging role for the suitable candidate, so you must be able to work well under pressure and prioritize your time to ensure the profitability and successful running of this busy and expanding department.

SALARY @ £13,000 plus considerable benefits.

For further details on this outstanding vacancy contact ANDREW CARR, FUTURES RECRUITMENT, 15-19 CHAPEL STREET, GUILDFORD, TEL (0432) 302201

OFFICE MANAGER To £20,000 pa

Major European corporation in the Communications sector requires an experienced Administrator to assist with the set-up and running of their new UK business development office in Central London. Areas of responsibility include personnel, finance and general office management. Computer literacy and sound judgement, especially in the area of business relations, are essential.

Ring 071 830 3365
CLC Language Services & Co (rec cons)
6 Buckingham Street
London WC2N 8BU

CRAWFORD

PA TO OFFICE MANAGER

£16,000 + Bonus

Highly successful division of a prestigious Merchant Bank is seeking a well educated, committed and motivated individual. Though the PA skills are essential the main thrust of this role is assisting the Office Manager in a wide variety of administrative tasks. The ideal candidate will be a well educated 21-30 with a proven track record. Benefits include free lunch, travel and SLL.

Telephone: Lynn Bealton on 071-255 3580

MEDIA RELATIONS

£15,000

An international property company based in St Katharine's Dock is looking for a Secretary in their Media Relations Department. You will need a creative mind, initiative and enthusiasm coupled with the ability to keep your sense of humour under pressure. This is a varied and involved position which includes research, liaison with the media and secretarial duties.

Experience in dealing with the media is essential as are skills of 100/70.

Rec Cons: 071-491 3848.

FASHIONABLE FIGURES FREE TO TRAVEL

£16,000 (UNDER REVIEW)

Are you smart, intelligent, career minded and free to travel?

If you have Maths 'A' level, are aged 23+ and enjoy figure work, this leading fashion group will reward you on a 6 months training course before joining their illustrious staff team. Excellent prospects. Superb benefits.

Yat: 071 580 5222 Sharon Davis Recruitment Consultants, 78 Wells Street, London W1

EXECUTIVE PA/SEC

£16,000 + bens

As PA/Sec to jet-setting executive of well known International Company based in the heart of the West End you will constantly be using your excellent secretarial and administrative skills to organize his life.

An 'A' level education and previous senior level experience is essential to cope with hectic diaries, international travel arrangements and important clients in his frequent absence.

If you have the skills and personality to meet the challenge call us as soon as possible.

Age: 25-35. Salary: 100/50

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Enjoy a busy, varied day as you join the Chief Executive of this major oil company. Assist with the organization of corporate entertainment and social events. You will also provide excellent secretarial support. Superb offices, an oil background preferred, 90/50 skills and Wordperfect S.1.

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Adel Rootstein Display Mannequins require a P.A. in their Chelsea offices with proficiency in written and spoken French a necessity together with usual W.P. secretarial skills.

Age preferred 25-40. Hours 9am-5.30pm

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An experienced, responsible, well organized and committed Secretary, not afraid to use initiative, is required for a small professional firm in Victoria.

As an important team member essential attributes will include an outgoing personality, attention to detail and a high level of literacy as well as the usual WP and typing.

Salary c. £13,000 p.a. B.B.A.

Please contact us direct for more information

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SENIOR SECRETARY

£16,000 + Plus Perks

A professional Secretary urgently required for a busy W.I. Company. This Secretary/Secretary Assistant is a committed, reliable, energetic and motivated individual with a proven track record in a similar position.

Please phone Judith or Audrey for an interview.

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Female 25-45 years of age

To develop further a new small jewellery company. Essential: Smart appearance, energetic, enthusiastic, self-motivated, computer operation knowledge, business background.

Please ring Fiona Holt on 071-370 1471

SUSAN HAMILTON PERSONNEL (JOINTS/STRESS)

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Well established Co. in 1990 requires a SH/PA (100/60) to assist the Chief Exec. Must have a proven track record in a similar position. The ideal candidate will be a well educated 21-30 with a proven track record. Benefits include free lunch, travel and SLL.

50 Kew Road, London SW1. Tel: 071 255 7714

Telephone: Lynn Bealton on 071-255 3580

WORLD BANKING

c. £15,000 + Mort Sub

(Conventional) Japanese

A true Administrator role exists in the Corporate Banking Department of this leading Japanese Company.

Alongside 3 busy executives you will be responsible for your own area of business and liaise extensively with clients. Typing 40 wpm. Commercial experience required.

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EDUCATIONAL

UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS

University of Cambridge

Department of Materials Science and Metallurgy

Two University Lectureships

Applications are invited for two lectureships. The successful applicants will be expected to teach in the areas of either mechanical behaviour or chemical properties and materials processing, and to carry out experimental or theoretical research in related areas. The appointments will commence on 1 September 1991 or as soon as possible thereafter. Salary is in the range of £15,444 to £28,819.

Applications including a C.V., list of publications, an outline of research plans and the names and addresses of three referees should be sent before 31 March 1991 to Dr. M. F. Ingham, Secretary of Appointments Committee, Institute of Astronomy, University of Cambridge, Madingley Road, Cambridge CB3 0HA, England. Further particulars may be obtained from Professor C. J. Humphreys, Department of Materials Science and Metallurgy, University of Cambridge, Pembroke Street, Cambridge CB2 3QZ, England (telephone 0223 334457 or fax 0223 334437).

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY READERSHIP/CHAIR - STRUCTURAL AND MATERIALS CHEMISTRY

The successful candidate will be expected to establish a research group whose skills, instrumentation and activities will usefully complement those already available at Durham for the structural characterisation of compounds and materials.

Candidates must be experienced in the investigation of solid state structures by single-crystal and powder diffraction methods.

The appointment, financed in part by support from 'Toxicology Group' will be to the Department of Chemistry and is available from 1 October 1991 or such date as may be arranged.

Salary will be at a point within the range of readership/professorial salaries.

Informal enquiries to Professor R. K. Harris, Chairman of the Department on 091-574 3121.

Applications (12 copies) including the names of three referees should be submitted by Friday, 15 March 1991, to the Personnel Officer, University of Durham, Old Shire Hall, Durham DH1 1TA from whom further particulars can be obtained.

Candidates outside the British Isles need submit one copy only.

University of Cambridge

FACULTY OF LAW

The Faculty Board of Law invite applications for the following teaching posts from 1 October 1991:

(a) Two posts with an initial tenure of three years. These posts are funded by the City Solicitors' Educational Trust and preference will be given to applicants who wish to teach one or more of the principal subjects studied by undergraduates.

(b) One post for the 1991-92 academic year only.

Further particulars of these posts can be obtained from the Administrative Secretary of the Faculty (Telephone 0223 332354; Fax 0223 337129).

Closing date for applications: 9 March 1991.

The University follows an equal opportunities policy.

ST ANNE'S COLLEGE OXFORD

Applications are invited for a 12-hour Secretary/Secretary Assistant in English Literature for a period of 1 year commencing from 1 October 1991.

The Lecturer will be responsible for teaching Critical Commentary and English Literature 1642-1800.

Further particulars from Mrs C. Frost, College Secretary and Registrar, St Anne's College, Oxford OX2 0BB to whom applications should be sent by 22 March 1991.

Referrals (two) should be submitted by candidates to write directly to her immediately.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Deputy Director of Administrative Services

Applications are invited for this senior post in the Department of Administrative Services. The successful applicant will assist and deputise as necessary for the Director of Administrative Services across the whole range of the Department's extensive activities but will have specific responsibility for the work of the Secretariat Division and for the supervision of the Department's (non-financial) role in research grants and contracts administration. He or she may also expect to play a significant part in the Department's involvement in planning matters, including servicing the Planning and Resources Committee. Candidates should be graduates with substantial administrative experience, preferably in a University. An interest in legal matters and intellectual property would be an advantage.

Salary will be according to experience and qualifications on the Administrative Grade 5 scale (£22,655 - £26,471 per annum). Given the range of experience required and the wide responsibilities of the post it is expected that an appointment will be made in the upper part of that scale.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Department, The University, Highfield, Southampton, SO9 5NH, telephone (0703) 592400 to which applications (5 copies) with a full curriculum vitae and details of three referees should be sent by 15th March 1991. Please quote reference number 5/200.

"Working for Equal Opportunities"

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

Lund has the last laugh as County cause a cup upset

Exuberant Gascoigne turns potential upset on its head

An uncharacteristic but nonetheless forceful header to a cross from Paul Allen rounded off a

Portsmouth set about Tottenham with the eagerness of a predator in pursuit of a wounded animal. It was to Tottenham's credit that they

PORTSMOUTH: A Gosney, W Neil, T Russell, G Hogg, J Beresford, S Wiggley, W Aspinell (sub: S Murray), M Kuhl, M Chamberlain (sub: D Anderson), C Clanton, G Whittham.

TOTTENHAM HOTSPUR: E Thorstved, P Van den Hauwe, G Mabbitt, M Thomas, S Sedgley, J Edinburgh, P Allen, V Sarwaray (sub: S Gray), P Gascogne, Nayim, C Linaker.

Referee: T Holbrook.

All fall down: Paris, of Notts County, slides in to dispossess White during their FA Cup fifth-round match

CREWE 5 sparkling display.

WEST HAM UNITED: L. Middleton; Bracken, G. Parry, T. Gale, I. Bishop, Hughton, K. Keen, F. McAvennie (sub: Guinn), S. Steer, S. Potts, T. Morley.

CREWE ALEXANDRA: P. Edwards; Swain, D. McKearney, J. Smart, D. Carr, Lennion, D. Jasper (sub: A. Murphy), Hignett (sub: R. Edwards), A. Sussex, Gardiner, M. Doyle.

Referee: G. R. Ashby.

"I do think that they will be force to be reckoned with in the next few years and that is tribute to the transformation which has been brought about by Howard Wilkinson," Graham said. "The highest compliment I can pay them is to say

"I do think that they will be force to be reckoned with in the next few years and that is tribute to the transformation which has been brought about by Howard Wilkinson," Graham said. "The highest compliment I can pay them is to say

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LEADS UNITED: J Lukic, M Sealand, J Whittow, D Batty, C Fairclough, C Whyte, G Strachan, C Shutt (sub: F Davidson), Chapman, G McAllister, G Speed.

ARSENAL: D Seaman, L Dixon, J Winterburn, M Thomas, S Bould, Linighan, D O'Leary, P Davis, A Smith, Merson, K Campbell.

Referee: H King.

Oldham close on leaders

ON A day when their closest promotion rivals were otherwise engaged, Oldham Athletic closed to within two points of West Ham United at the head of the second division. They did so courtesy of Saturday's 2-0 home victory over Port Vale, with goals supplied by Neil Redfearn and Richard Jobson, his first for

Plymouth are now third from bottom, ahead of Watford, who lost 3-1 at Bristol Rovers, and Hull City, beaten 2-1 at home by Bristol City. The prognosis is not bright for Blackburn Rovers either. Only five points better off than Hull, and having played a game more, they capitulated 3-0 at home to managerless West Bromwich Albion.

ALTHOUGH the premier division programme was reduced to just two matches on Saturday Rangers' home fixture with Motherwell went ahead, thanks to the undersoil heating system at Ibrox Park (Roddy Forsyth writes).

another step on their seemingly inevitable progress to the retention of their title, winning for the eighth time in succession and extending their undefeated sequence to 15 matches. Their goals in a 2-0 victory were scored by McCoist and Hatelye both with astute chips from outside the Motherwell penalty area.

Extended cup commitment probably cost Oldham a first division place last season, and Millwall supporters have already expressed fears that the sale of Jimmy Carter to Arsenal could do likewise for the London club this year.

Yet Carter was hardly a success at The Den as Millwall defeated Plymouth Argyle 4-1, where four goals from Todd Sheringham lifted him to the top

Plymouth are now third from bottom, ahead of Watford, who led 2-1 in the Etihad. Wolves, who have lost three of their last four, are fifth. Hull City, beaten 2-1 at home by Bristol City. The prognosis is not bright for Blackburn Rovers, who have five points between them off Hull City and are 12th in the table. In the final game, they capitulated 3-0 at home to managers' West Bromwich Albion.

Rangers ease further ahead of their rivals

ALTHOUGH the premier division programme was reduced to 19 games, the Rangers' home fixture with Motherwell went ahead, thanks to the undersoil heating system at Ibrox Park (Roddy Forsyth writes).

The champions duty took a small step on their continuing inevitable progress to the retention of their title, winning for the eighth time in succession.

and extending their undefeated sequence to 15 matches. Their goals in a 2-0 victory were scored by McCoist and Hatcher, both with astute chips from outside the Motherwell penalty area.

SPORT

Liverpool suffer McMahon blow in cup stalemate

By STUART JONES
FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT

Liverpool 0
Everton 0

FOR the second successive Merseyside derby, a Liverpool casualty has been helped away from the traditional physical warfare and taken to hospital for examination.

Last weekend, Ronnie Whelan, the captain, was found to have cracked a shin bone, and yesterday he was at hospital to see his colleague, Steve McMahon, apparently suffer a similar fate.

Thirteen minutes of a typically robust FA Cup fifth-round tie had passed when McMahon and John Ebbrell launched themselves towards the same loose ball.

The ensuing shuddering collision was by no means unique, especially during the first half when the neighbours insisted on flexing all of their muscles, but nonetheless Ebbrell spun away, complaining bitterly about the ferocity of his opponent's challenge, before the numbness faded and he felt the pain.

"His shin pad has gone to hospital," Howard Kendall, the Everton manager, said, "and he'll need a new one for Wednesday."

McMahon, however, had clearly not escaped as lightly. Clutching his left leg, he visibly winced in pain

throughout a prolonged period of treatment, and when he at last attempted to stand up, it was clear that the injury was serious and that, albeit reluctantly, he would have to retire.

The initial indication was that his tibia was broken, but those fears later receded when Kenny Dalglish indicated that there were "no problems with the bone".

The full extent of the damage is expected to be revealed today, but Liverpool can expect to be without another of their principal central midfield players for at least several weeks, and perhaps more.

No blame was apportioned to Ebbrell. The referee, adjudging that McMahon had been guilty of a foul, significantly gave a free-kick against him, but another of Neil Mudgeley's decisions caused widespread mystification. Late in the first half, it seemed that he must award Everton a penalty after Pat Nevin had been brought down, yet, not only did he interpret Gary Ablett's mis-timed tackle as a legitimate attempt to claim the ball, but, after booking Graeme Sharp, he went on to accuse Nevin of over-reacting.

"I am sure the television will prove it was a penalty," Nevin said, "but the referee suggested that I'd dived and warned me he would send me off if I did it again." Kendall pointed out that Nevin had also been felled inside the area

the previous weekend "and got nothing then either".

Kenny Dalglish predictably took a different view. "In two games, two different referees have seen the incident in the same way. There must be something wrong somewhere," he said.

Liverpool, all but knocked out by Blackburn Rovers in the third round and almost eliminated by Brighton in the fourth, could thus be considered fortunate to earn a replay at Goodison Park in midweek. Nevin was not alone in threatening to gain revenge for Everton's recent defeat, their fifth, incidentally, in succession.

Glenn Hysen, without first checking to see whether a back pass was advisable, handed Sharp an open invitation midway through the first half, for instance. Bruce Grobbelaar advanced to smother the danger and recovered in time to block Nevin's attempt to turn in the rebound.

The Liverpool goalkeeper went on to tip over a header by Martin Keown immediately before the interval and, seconds after it, watch Nevin's job bounce the other side of a post.

At that stage, Everton, who were employing three central defenders and restricting the space in midfield, had established indisputable superiority. Once Kevin Sheedy had been withdrawn with a pulled hamstring, which will keep him out of contention on Wednesday, they lost their balance and control of the afternoon.

It was only then that John Barnes, supplied persistently by the composed Jan Molby, was allowed to make any impact.

In rapid succession, Neville Southall was forced to deny Molby and David Speedie, who was eventually taken off to make way for Peter Beardsley. He almost completed Liverpool's belated recovery in the closing minutes with a crisp drive which grazed the foot of an upright.

"We learned from last Saturday," Kendall said, "and we changed a couple of things. We did enough then to go into this game with confidence, but it would be wrong to say that we have done the hard part now."

Lond's last laugh, page 32



High kicks: McCall, of Everton, comes under pressure from Molby, of Liverpool

Cup draw favours London

THE likelihood of a final between the two North London clubs increased after the draw for the sixth round of the FA Cup was made yesterday. Tottenham Hotspur were drawn at home to Notts County, of the second division, and Arsenal, who meet third-division Shrewsbury in a fifth-round tie the next week, will be at home to Cambridge United, another third division team, if they get through.

West Ham, the second-division leaders, will be at home to the winners of the replay between Liverpool and Everton. West Ham have a respectable home record against both the Merseyside

Sixth round draw

Norwich or Manchester United v Southampton, Newcastle or Nottingham Forest.
Tottenham Hotspur v Notts County.
West Ham United v Liverpool or Everton.
Shrewsbury Town or Arsenal v Cambridge United.
Ties to be played on March 9 or 10.

clubs and in the 1988-9 season scored a famous 4-1 victory over Liverpool in a Littlewoods Cup fourth round tie at Upton Park.

Arsenal have never met Cambridge, who have reached the quarter-finals for the second successive season and whose manager, John Beck, is delighted at the prospect of a visit to Highbury, where a

share of a 35,000 gate would ease Cambridge's financial position, although a similar crowd at Tottenham will hardly make a dent in their massive debts.

Another home draw for Tottenham, who have yet to meet first division opposition in this season's competition, is a real boost to their one remaining hope of lifting a trophy this season.

Manchester United, unbeaten in their last 21 cup-ties, play at Norwich in the fifth round tonight with the prize for the winners being a home quarter-final against either Southampton, Nottingham Forest or Newcastle.

Tensions high in the heat of sprint battle

By DAVID POWELL, ATHLETICS CORRESPONDENT

LINFORD Christie offered the hand of apology to Leroy Burrell yesterday after a behind-the-scenes altercation between the two athletes in the Dairy Crest meeting at RAF Cosford.

Burrell, the new world record-holder, was striding away from Christie during their 60 metres race when he turned round and gestured to him to run faster. Christie took exception, was said by Burrell to have threatened to kill him, and officials had to step in to direct them away from each other.

Later Burrell also apologised. "We will be on the victory stand together and I will offer an apology," Burrell said. "With all the things that happened in the week, I got upset when I should have remained calm."

It was hardly the distraction Christie needed with a race against Michael Johnson, the world's fastest 200 metres runner, to come 50 minutes later. Christie lost that one too, Johnson running the fastest indoor time seen in Britain, 20.74sec.

After the 200 metres, Christie approached Burrell to shake his hand and Burrell accepted. This was Burrell's first appearance in Britain and he was clearly distressed. Four days earlier he had set his world record of 6.48sec. "I have not had the best week," he said now.

Burrell said he had been upset by Christie's suggestion that he would have beaten him the weekend before had he not misread the finish-line position and because it had been written that he was here only for the money.

Christie said: "I have run against Carl Lewis and Ben Johnson and they have never done anything like that. But there are no hard feelings."

Christie's consolation was

that Burrell did not take his Cosford track record of 6.59sec. Burrell ran 6.56 and Christie 6.62, his season's fastest.

David Sharpe, Britain's European outdoor silver medal winner, can now have no hope of being included in the team for the world indoor championships in Seville next month. Last here, this was his third successive poor run.

One place should go to Martin Steele, who proved by his win in the 1,000 metres that his anonymous run in Turin on Wednesday was just a blot on his copybook season. His time of 2min 19.50sec puts him third in the British all-time list behind Sebastian Coe and Tony Morrell.

Roger Kingdom, twice the Olympic champion, may find himself in the same boat as Sharpe. He was beaten by Tony Dees and, with Greg Foster in form, looks unlikely to qualify in the first-two-post-the United States trials next weekend. Britain's Nigel Walker confirmed his best form for four years with 7.73sec for fourth.

Paul Larkin's third place in the mile was encouraging for a man who has been selected for the world championship 3,000 metres. The winner was Moses Kiptanui, of Kenya.

RESULTS: 100m: 1. L. Burrell (GB), 6.56sec; 2. M. Johnson (USA), 6.59sec; 3. L. Christie (GB), 6.62sec; 4. S. Coe (GB), 6.73sec; 5. D. Sharpe (GB), 6.73sec; 6. D. Morris (USA), 6.78sec; 7. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 8. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 9. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 10. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 11. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 12. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 13. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 14. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 15. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 16. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 17. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 18. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 19. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 20. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 21. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 22. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 23. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 24. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 25. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 26. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 27. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 28. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 29. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 30. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 31. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 32. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 33. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 34. S. Sharpe (GB), 6.78sec; 35. 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